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THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CISTERCIAN STRICT OBSERVANCE

By

Louis J. Lekai*

The Council of Trent, which inaugurated an era of Catholic renewal, inspired the organization of a number of new religious orders and the reform of practically all the existing religious communities. Reform activities within the Cistercian Order during the second half of the sixteenth century were an organic part of this universal trend. Peculiar deficiencies in the functioning of the central administration of the order, however, along with the impact of increasingly vigorous local reforms, resulted in a gradual disintegration of the order into virtually independent congregations, organized on a regional or a national basis. The declining efficiency of the central control, as it was exercised traditionally by the annual sessions of the general chapter at Citeaux, was due chiefly to two causes, both of them beyond the control of the order.

The first difficulty appeared as a result of the almost continuous religious or civil wars both in France and abroad, which rendered all but impossible the regular attendance at the chapters of at least the foreign abbots. For the same reason, the chapters were canceled or deferred so frequently that from 1550 to 1600 only nine such meetings were held, and even these were attended predominantly by French abbots. There is ample evidence that despite discouraging obstacles both the chapter and the Abbot of Citeaux sincerely en-

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deavored to bring about the long desired and necessary reform. Beyond brave words and impressive resolutions, a series of worthy prelates were successively elected as Abbots of Citeaux, and they did their best to convert the words into deeds. Thus Jerôme Souchier, who in 1568 was promoted to the cardinalate, followed by Nicholas I. Boucherat (1571-1584) and Edmond de la Croix (1584-1604), combined integrity of character with sincere zeal and energy, and, through the successful revival of the system of visitation, saved and reorganized a large number of monasteries which survived the first violent attack of the Protestant Revolt in western and central Europe.[1]

These efforts, however, were greatly impaired by a second and even more dangerous obstacle than the deficiencies of the general chapter, viz., the evil of the commendatory system. In the sixteenth century, out of a total of some 240 Cistercian monasteries in France, only a small fraction were under the administration of the order; the others were controlled by commendatory abbots, usually high ranking members of the secular clergy appointed by the king. The interest of these prelates rarely went beyond the collection of abbatial revenues, while the monasteries themselves rapidly decreased in personnel, as well as in discipline and economy. The situation in this respect was even worse in Italy. Small wonder that the reformatory efforts of Citeaux found no echo among the majority of these unfortunate houses, subsisting in utter desolation. Thus the ambitious plans for reorganization of the order, presented by the chapters, especially by those of 1584 and 1601, remained largely unfulfilled.

Zealous reformers, both in France and abroad, watched the futile efforts of Citeaux with growing impatience. Since they were convinced that the overdue action never would occur through the initiative of Citeaux, supported by both secular and ecclesiastical authority, they launched their own reform plans either independently of Citeaux or, in some instances, in open defiance of the central direction. Such separatist movements had been strong and partially successful in both Spain and Italy as early as the fifteenth century; but now the trend grew to dangerous proportions. In 1567 the reform in Portugal broke away from Citeaux; in 1580, a national organization arose in Poland; in 1595 the German abbeys united themselves; and in 1613 Spain and southern Italy formed independent congregations.

[1] Archdale King, *Citeaux and Her Elder Daughters* (London, 1945), pp. 73-77.

The most impressive reform, however, was begun in France itself in the form of the Feuillant movement, recognized by the pope in 1586 as an independent congregation. Their extremely severe asceticism and spectacular success undoubtedly presented to Citeaux a silent reproach and a continuous challenge. These congregations became not only practically independent of Citeaux, but in their rules and customs they departed so far from the common traditions that some of them remained Cistercians only in name and habit.[2]

Meanwhile, Citeaux observed the gradual disintegration of the once mighty order in helpless dismay. However, it was only natural that the farther the movement proceeded the greater became the determination not to give way to any future pressure and to prevent any further breakup of the order, at least in France. It was at this juncture that some zealous individuals in France initiated a new reform, which soon became known as the Strict Observance. Unfortunately, after a few years of peaceful growth outside pressure was applied in order to organize the participants of the movement into an independent congregation, and even to impose the same reform upon the whole order. These demands encountered a violent resistance at the general chapter of Citeaux, and there followed the longest and most embittered feud in the history of the order. To discuss the problems of the initial stage of this movement is the purpose of the present study.

The story of the Strict Observance was last told in considerable detail over two centuries ago. The author, Dom Francis Armand Gervaise (1660-1751), a prolific writer of popular compilations, mostly on the history of the early Church and patristic literature, had first been a Carmelite. Finding the Carmelite rule too mild, he entered the greatest reformed Cistercian abbey, La Trappe, in 1695. Abbot Jean-Armand de Rancé (1626-1700) received him with great expectation and soon designated him as his successor. Gervaise, however, after repeated quarrels, left the abbey and joined successively a number of other houses of the Trappist congregation. The first volume of his famed work on the Cistercian reform was published in 1746.[3] He poured out his restless and dissatisfied soul into the already

[2] Cf. Louis J. Lekai, *The White Monks* (Okauchee, Wisconsin, 1953), pp. 81-87.

[3] *Histoire générale de la réforme de l'ordre de Citeaux en France*, tome premier (Avignon, 1746).

explosive subject with such violence that the result was inevitable. After the vigorous intervention of the outraged Citeaux, the author was confined by royal order for the remaining five years of his life in the Abbey of Le Reclus, and, of course, the promised second volume never appeared.[4] The fate of the work and its unfortunate author remained for a long time an effective warning to the historians of the order not to touch the subject again.

To be sure, the work of Gervaise, written with professional skill, was a vicious attack against Citeaux and the Common Observance. Gervaise gave the facts his own imaginative treatment in an effort to show that the protagonists of the reform were all saints and martyrs, while its opponents were at least base villains, if not servants of the devil himself. Although the book's sharp tendency is conspicuous enough from the first pages, it had the exceptional fortune of remaining for centuries the only accessible source of the famous story. It was transcribed and popularized without scruple by a number of interested amateurs, as well as modern authors of scholarly reputation, especially by the biographers of de Rancé. Meanwhile, the extensive source material pertaining to the subject remained untouched, buried in French archives and libraries. These are chiefly printed contemporary pamphlets, legalistic and controversial in nature, as well as manuscripts of original documents. Among these manuscripts there is a complete story of the reform, written around 1738 by André Joseph Boulenger, Prior of Vaux de Cernay. The work is similar to that of Gervaise both in its sympathy and in its method of compilation; but it is shorter, more factual, and thus more reliable.[5] Among the large number of printed pamphlets there is an outstanding publication which gives a fairly detailed story of the first half century of the Strict Observance which was published anonymously by the reform in 1656.[6] It is a skillful summary of other previously published smaller pamphlets defending the reform, and it became the chief source of both Boulenger and Gervaise.

Meanwhile, the Common Observance, under the leadership of Citeaux, failed to produce any substantial and coherent account of their side of the dispute, a fact which undoubtedly increased the temp-

[4] Cf. *Nouvelle biographie générale* (Paris, 1858), XX, 330-332.

[5] "Histoire abrégée de la dernière réforme de l'ordre de Citeaux," Municipal Library of Langres, MSS 75.

[6] *Défense des règlements faits . . .pour la réformation de l'ordre de Citeaux* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ld 17 43).

tation of Gervaise to write as he pleased. The only recently published source material of basic importance is the collection of the records of the sessions of the general chapter by the late Trappist scholar, Joseph M. Canivez.[7]

Considering the extent and nature of the source material and the state of research today it must, therefore, be understood that the present essay is more an incentive to further study than conclusive in its results.

Unlike the more advanced stage of the famous controversy, there is very little known about the early beginnings of the reform. Modern authors, for the sake of convenience, link the first step toward the Strict Observance with the date of 1598.[8] It was in that year that a young priest of noble Italian ancestry, Octave Arnolfini, was appointed by the grace of King Henry IV as commendatory Abbot of La Charmoye, a filiation of Clairvaux. He felt an unusual degree of responsibility for the desolate condition of his abbey. According to *Gallia christiana*,[9] he found among his monks two young men, Abraham Largentier and Stephen Maugier, who were also desirous of salutary changes. Together with them he conceived the idea of a possible revival of monastic discipline. The friendship between Arnolfini and Maugier soon became intimate; in fact, the extraordinary character of Maugier kept his abbot spellbound for a lifetime.

Since Arnolfini understood that he could not launch the desired reform unless he himself became a Cistercian and, thus, a regular abbot, he soon retired to Clairvaux, completed his novitiate there, and made his monastic profession in 1602. The time Arnolfini spent in Clairvaux proved to be decisive in his career. The abbot of that mighty and still populous monastery had since 1596 been Denis Largentier, one of the most impressive personalities in the long history of Clairvaux. He entered the order as a youth of sixteen, graduated from the Sorbonne, soon became provincial vicar and then procurator general of the order in Rome. He was already renowned as an indefatigable promoter of the reform. His wisdom, piety, and mild manners merited for him the abbatial seat of Clairvaux by the

[7] *Statuta capitulorum generalium ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786* (Louvain, 1939), tome VII.

[8] E.g., Hugues Séjalon, *Annales de l'abbaye d'Aiguebelle* (Valence, 1864), II, 33.

[9] Editio altera (Parisiis, 1856-1899), XIII, 1326.

time he reached his early forties. Under his administration the abbey became once again the model of monastic discipline. Besides the abbot's proper guidance and encouragement, the edifying example of similar-minded young monks made a deep impression upon Arnolfini's soul. He left Clairvaux for La Charmoye, undoubtedly with the firm resolution of restoring the ancient Cistercian discipline, at least in his own abbey. However, he found little satisfaction within the limitations of that quite insignificant monastery, which housed but a small number of monks, and in 1605 he left La Charmoye to his domineering friend, Maugier, and moved as abbot to Châtillon, another filiation of Clairvaux.[10]

Of course, all of these things could not possibly have occurred without the approval of Abbot Largentier. In fact, the activities of Arnolfini and Maugier, and certain changes in a few obscure monasteries remained for many years so inconspicuous that the contemporary sources of the reform mention nothing about the early roles of La Charmoye and Châtillon. On the contrary, they all begin with the story of the sudden "conversion" of Abbot Largentier, a story repeated by Gervaise and his followers. It happened about 1615—so they report—that one day, as usual, the abbot became engrossed in pious meditation over the grave of Saint Bernard. Comparing the present state of his abbey with its glorious past, the unfavorable parallel between himself and his great predecessor, Saint Bernard, struck him so forcibly that he exclaimed: "*O Abbas et Abbas!*" According to these historians it was then and there that Largentier resolved to lead the movement of reform. Similar occurrences of sudden conversions, however, were told so frequently in other pious contemporary biographies that a certain skepticism would be quite justified, at least concerning the broad significance of the event. But the fact remains that, for all practical purposes, it was Clairvaux and Largentier who adopted and engineered the reform; unfortunately, he did not live to see its success.

The reformed discipline, already enforced on a small scale at La Charmoye and Châtillon, and now urged by Abbot Largentier at Clairvaux, appeared as a sincere attempt to revive the austerities of

[10] Cf. *Dictionnaire d'histoire et géographie ecclésiastiques* (Paris, 1951), "La Charmoye," col. 539; "Châtillon," cols. 586-587; for Arnolfini and Maugier, cf. Seraphin Lenssen, *Hagiologium Cisterciense* (Tilbourg, 1949), II, 193-196. (Mimeographed.)

the early Cistercian life. Its most conspicuous feature was the return to perpetual abstinence from meat, which, through the indult granted by Pope Sixtus IV in 1475, gradually was abandoned throughout the whole order. Concerning the evaluation of the other items of the reformed observance, such as silence, manual work, simplicity in clothing and bedding, there was a certain discrepancy among contemporary representatives of the Strict and Common Observances. The Strict Observance, probably with some exaggeration, tried to prove that not only the perpetual abstinence, but all other austerities of the early Citeaux, were effectively resumed, while the Common Observance instinctively minimized the difference between the two groups, except in the matter of abstinence. However, both parties could be equally justified, because the discipline of the reformed houses was far from being entirely uniform, while some houses of the Common Observance kept almost the same standards in great earnestness.

According to the unanimous testimony of all available sources Abbot Largentier proceeded with the utmost tact and moderation in introducing the above restrictions. He began the reform with himself, and it was through his living example, and not through coercion, that a considerable part of the community soon followed their abbot's austere mode of life. The authors representing the Strict Observance later claimed that eventually the overwhelming majority of the monks stood behind the abbot.[11] This claim, however, lacks sufficient foundation. Although all monastic officials, such as prior, sub-prior, master of novices, and cellarer, were appointed by the abbot from the ranks of the reform, the events of the near future show that the reformed group in Clairvaux remained always in a minority. It is true, nevertheless, that, due to the abbot's universally respected personality, no formal split occurred within the community, and the majority of the older monks, the "ancients," did not raise objections against the new custom as long as their old way of life was also respected. Thus the two groups continued to co-operate peacefully in all community activities with the exception of having their own meals in distinct refectories and sleeping in two different dormitories.[12] Meanwhile, the reception and education of novices under the control of the reform conformed to the new ideals; thus the ultimate and total success of the movement within the abbey seemed to be merely a question of time. Among those young men who made their profes-

[11] Gervaise, *op. cit.*, p. 91. [12] *Ibid.*, p. 109.

sion at Clairvaux under the reform were the abbot's nephew, Claude Largentier, Pierre Henry, and Claude Vaussin, all destined to play key roles in the future fate of the movement, but, significantly enough, on the side of the opposition.

The reform did not remain confined within the walls of Clairvaux. The abbey was not only the greatest and wealthiest Cistercian house in France, after Citeaux, but it controlled an even larger number of subordinated and affiliated houses than Citeaux itself. Originally, according to the Charter of Charity, the power of the abbot of the mother abbey over its own filiations did not exceed the right of visitation and the privilege to preside at abbatial elections. Since the fifteenth century, however, when the spreading commendatory system substituted secular prelates, imposed by royal will, for legally elected abbots, the general chapter granted wide powers to the abbots of the founding house to control the affairs of monasteries devoid of competent leadership.[13] Thus it was only natural that Abbot Largentier did his best to promote the Strict Observance in the houses affiliated with Clairvaux, especially through appointing local conventual priors in favor of the reform. Thus by 1618 the reform was introduced into eight of Clairvaux's numerous daughter abbeys, viz., La Charmoye and Châtillon, already mentioned, Longpont, Cheminon, Vauclair, Prières, Blanche (Isle Dieu) and Vaux de Cernay.[14]

The movement had evidently now outgrown the stage of local interest launched under the sole responsibility of local superiors. The originators of the Strict Observance understood well that no matter how praiseworthy their endeavors might be, they must be approved by legitimate authority. If the movement had amounted to any significance prior to the general chapter held in 1613, the question of recognition would necessarily have emerged at that time. But among the records of that chapter there is no reference to the new observance. It was probably not until 1615 that Abbot Largentier turned to the Abbot of Citeaux, Nicholas II Boucherat (1604-1625), with his request for approval of the reform. Abbot Boucherat exhibited a warm interest and sympathy for the movement and promptly granted the approbation, dependent upon the final word of the chapter, the proper organ of such momentous decisions. The chapter convened in the month of May, 1618, and it was on that

[13] Cf. Canivez, *op. cit.*, V, 23.

[14] Gervaise, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-92.

occasion that the problems of the Strict Observance were first discussed in considerable detail.

The historians of the Strict Observance are unanimous in their charge that the fathers of the chapter were already in the mood to crush the movement with the most drastic measures. If no such decision came forth it was merely because they were afraid of an adverse reaction at the court, where Louis XIII was believed to be favorable to monastic reforms. The chapter, however, was hardly to be intimidated by such remote dangers. Louis was still a minor without much influence in the government, and the regency was too busily engaged in an effort to balance the fighting parties to interfere in religious matters of slight significance. If there was any spontaneous reaction against the reform it was more likely due to the fact that it was led by the very same Clairvaux, noted throughout the previous history of the order as the willing leader of rebellious factions. It had been barely a century before that Clairvaux had championed a dangerous movement against the authority of Citeaux, a schism healed only by papal intervention.[15]

At any rate, the adverse reaction must have come only from a small minority, because the records of the chapter manifest no such animosity. On the contrary, there are warm words in appraisal of the noble efforts to approach the holy way of life of the founding fathers. The chapter's main concern, however, was to preserve the uniformity of discipline within the order. Instead of granting an outright approval of the movement on a voluntary basis, the chapter proposed a compromise solution: the whole order was to embrace the reform in all its austerity, but, instead of prescribing perpetual abstinence, the chapter advocated abstinence from meat dishes only for one half of the year, from the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (September 14) to Easter. In order to safeguard uniformity, "the General Chapter desires that those who were granted temporarily permission of total abstinence, would henceforth conform themselves to the whole of the Order, that, brother helping brother and the strong suffering and carrying the weak, all would contend in hastening unanimously and in equal steps from virtue to virtue toward a holier reformation and more perfect observance."[16]

As is the frequent misfortune of compromise solutions, the decision of the chapter pleased nobody. The laggard and indifferent sus-

[15] Lekai, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

[16] Canivez, *op. cit.*, VII, 332.

pected, with some justification, that the decree was not the last word in the matter, and they showed no enthusiasm even for a mitigated reform. The "abstinents," on the other hand, with equal justification, did not interpret the chapter's word as their condemnation and, covered by their powerful supporters, the Abbots of Citeaux and Clairvaux, they resolved to cling to the practice of perpetual abstinence. The only possible excuse for such a defiant attitude on both sides lay in the sorry fact that ever since the fifteenth century the general chapter had come to be regarded more as a debating forum than an organ of legislation.

The results of the chapter of 1618 indicated unmistakably to the leaders of the reform that in the mind of the chapter fathers the preservation of unity and uniformity came first, and the reform second. Disillusioning as it was, the "abstinents" must also have admitted that their numbers and influence were not enough to seek the enforcement of the reform upon a reluctant majority. Moreover, a careful and honest examination of the existing internal status of the Strict Observance must have proved clearly that the movement had failed to outgrow the initial weaknesses of its infancy; in fact, its quick spread and surprising growth were more apparent than real.

As was stated above, by 1618 the reform had spread through eight houses of the affiliation of Clairvaux. But of these abbeys only two or three enjoyed the reputation of being well organized communities. For a longer or shorter period of time all of them had been subjected to commendatory abbots, and many suffered heavily during the Huguenot revolution. For example, Vauclair, in the Diocese of Laon, was still a splendid monastery, rebuilt on a grand scale in the sixteenth century, while the abbot was frequently commissioned as visitor of other houses; but by the time of the reform the large plant housed only a handful of monks. Nevertheless, in 1667 the abbey became a house of novitiate for the reform. The great Abbey of Vaux de Cernay near Paris had been a prized possession of a long series of famous commendatory abbots ever since 1542. Due to its convenient location the first convention of the reform was held there in 1624, and for the same reason also the abbey became a house of novitiate. Prières, on the Atlantic coast of Brittany, had subsisted under commendatory abbots since 1501. It was the good fortune of the monastery that its abbot, John Bouchard, became interested in the reform and, with the co-operation of his prior, Bernard Carpentier,

a former Feuillant, they re-established regular life about 1613. During the twenty-three years of Carpentier's administration he received and educated more than one hundred novices for the reform. He, personally, never was in the limelight of future dramatic events, but his stern asceticism made a particularly deep impression upon most of the prominent members of the second reformed generation; indirectly, therefore, his role in the movement was probably much greater than his humble and retiring personality would suggest.[17]

In the Diocese of Soisson, Longpont had been *in commendam* since 1531. Although during the Huguenot wars the monastery was abandoned, and the monks sought refuge in the leprosery of La Ferté Millon, regular life was restored in 1612 with considerable success. The same disorders devastated La Charmoye, and its rebuilding and reorganization were completed only by Abbot Maugier. At the time of the reform Châtillon, near the borders of Luxemburg, still bore the marks of the desolation which has possessed it ever since the fourteenth century, and its reconstruction took almost the whole of the seventeenth century. Cheminon languished under the commendatory rule of the House of Lorraine and never rose to significance. There is little known about La Blanche, on a small island south of the mouth of the Loire, formerly called Isle Dieu. In 1623 Abbot General Nicholas II. Boucherat assured the monastery its right to elect its own prior and to open a novitiate, but there is no indication that it ever exercised the functions of such an institution.[18]

By 1624 two more houses had joined the reform, raising to eleven the total number of monasteries belonging to the Strict Observance. One of the new members was Etoile, in the Diocese of Poitiers, recently reorganized by the former master of novices of Clairvaux, Jerôme Petit, after more than a century of desolation under commendatory abbots. The other accretion was the small priory of Saint Lazare, newly founded by five members of Longpont in 1616 near La Ferté Millon, the location of their previous exile.[19]

There are no reliable figures available that indicate the number of monks in the above-named houses at this time; however, some fifteen years later, none of them was estimated as having more than

[17] Lenssen, *op. cit.*, II, 199.

[18] *Response des abbez et religieux de l'éstroite observance . . .* (Paris, 1635), p. 126. (Anonymous pamphlet, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ld 17 22.)

[19] *Dictionnaire d'histoire et géographie ecclésiastiques*, "Citeaux," col. 991.

eighteen religious, while the average scarcely exceeded ten.[20] Thus it seems certain that the combined personnel of the first ten houses controlled by the Strict Observance did not surpass the population of Clairvaux alone which, at this time, harbored over one hundred monks. Moreover, in conformity with the policy followed by Abbot Largentier at Clairvaux adherence to the Strict Observance remained the free choice of each religious in every house; thus the numerical strength of the "abstinents" was by no means identical with the modest total of the inhabitants of their ten houses. In some cases, such as in Vauclair, only the abbot was "abstinent," while in some others, such as in La Charmoye or Châtillon, the Strict Observance was embraced by all.

By reason of the weak position of the Strict Observance in the smaller houses, it became evident that the future of the movement depended upon the ultimate success of the reform in Clairvaux. There was no doubt about the continued good will and efforts of Abbot Largentier, but as he advanced in age the problem of his successor created a crucial situation. Since in Clairvaux the "abstinents" were still in a minority the election of the new abbot could not be safely entrusted to the monks themselves. If they were to elect someone less enthusiastic for the reform than Abbot Largentier the ruling observance soon might be abandoned, and in this way the Strict Observance, having lost its grip on Clairvaux, would most likely be stifled. Moreover, no matter who might be the newly elected abbot, he certainly would lack Largentier's enormous authority, and the "ancients" might feel free to rebel against their humiliating position with the same fatal results for the reform.

To avoid the ominous possibility of losing Clairvaux there were two possible courses that might be taken by the Strict Observance: to precipitate the reform, enforcing the new discipline at once and eliminating the opposition at Clairvaux while Largentier enjoyed full control of the situation; or, to secure legally the succession of someone who would be able to complete the work of the reform in the same patient manner as it had been begun. The first course was vigorously advocated by Abbot Maugier, who within a few years became second in the ranks of the reform; but after some hesitation

[20] *Responses au project de sentence . . .* (n.p., n.d.), pp. 10-13. (Anonymous pamphlet, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ld 17 23.) For all other details concerning the above listed abbeys cf. *Gallia christiana.*

Largentier decided to follow the second course. The dissension over the method to be pursued, the selection of a suitable successor, and later the fight over his legal rights, and consequently over the control of Clairvaux, occupied the first five years of the 1620's.

Since this part of the story was apt to cast an unpleasant light over the personality and character of Stephen Maugier, the man who was later to lead the movement, the authors who were sympathetic toward the Strict Observance here restricted their comments to passing remarks. An interesting pamphlet, however, published in 1624 by the "ancients" of Clairvaux recounted these happenings in considerable detail.[21] No doubt, this writing also is heavily biased, but since the basic facts were never challenged by the opposition it must be accepted as substantially true.

It was in 1620 that after much consultation with his advisers, among them Maugier, Abbot Largentier resolved to proceed with the election of a coadjutor with the right of succession. After obtaining the consent of all authorities concerned, and everything having been carefully prepared, the election took place early in 1621, although, curiously enough, the pamphlet does not mention the exact date of the momentous event. To the free choice of the seventy-two professed members of Clairvaux convened for the election, Largentier proposed five names, all, in his estimation, worthy to succeed him. Among the five was the name of his nephew, Claude Largentier, actually absent as Prior of Roziers, one of the numerous affiliations of Clairvaux. The author of the pamphlet contended that no pressure of any kind was exerted upon the electors; but, since the abbot's preference for his nephew was no secret, Claude Largentier received the majority of votes—another indication of the abbot's overwhelming authority. If Maugier felt dissatisfied with the outcome of the election, he knew how to conceal his emotions. It was Abbot Maugier who was dispatched by the convent of Clairvaux to Paris in order to procure a speedy royal approval of the election. He carried a letter to François Cardinal de La Rochefoucauld (1558-1645), written on February 19, 1621, by the Prior of Clairvaux, Denis Maillet, attesting to the unanimous satisfaction over the results of the election, and to the character of Claude Largentier, "chosen under Divine auspices,

[21] *Remontrances trés-humbles au Roy par les religieux de l'abbaye de Clervaux* (Paris, n.d.). (Anonymous pamphlet, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ld 17 14.)

whose piety, virtue and capability are known to all those who ever came in contact with him."[22]

The election was confirmed by King Louis XIII on March 11, 1621, and the problem seemed to have reached a satisfactory solution. Contrary to expectations, however, this election became the source of a bitter feud among the interested parties. The Strict Observance made the newly elected coadjutor responsible, while the Common Observance blamed Maugier as the chief cause of the subsequent unhappy events. According to Gervaise, Claude Largentier was a hypocrite who deliberately misled his uncle and the reform with regard to his real intentions and obtained his election through fraud, promising to the "ancients" the abolition of the Strict Observance if they voted for him.[23] Such accusations not only lack the slightest evidence but are contrary to the great practical wisdom exhibited always by Denis Largentier in conducting the affairs of the reform. It is undeniable that within a few years Claude Largentier found himself, indeed, in the camp of the opposition. But it was not so much his supposed hypocritical character that was responsible, but rather the relentless campaign waged against him by Maugier, under the pretension that Claude Largentier was unfit and unwilling to complete the reform at Clairvaux.

According to the same pamphlet, no sooner was Claude Largentier elected as coadjutor than Maugier pressed him to pledge himself to enforce uniformly the Strict Observance at Clairvaux upon succeeding his uncle. When the coadjutor refused to commit himself Maugier denounced him to Denis Largentier as unreliable for the reform and demanded, as the only alternative, the immediate enforcement of the Strict Observance within Clairvaux. Following Maugier's advice, the perplexed abbot took certain measures to speed up the slow process of the reformation. He transferred some of the "ancients" to other houses, while concentrating the "abstinents" at Clairvaux, receiving even foreigners into his abbey if they were willing to follow the Strict Observance.

An interesting letter addressed by the abbot to Cardinal La Rochefoucauld on September 9, 1621, reveals that Denis Largentier established a direct contact with the hard-pressed monasteries of the

[22] Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris, MSS. 3247, fol. 36.
[23] Gervaise, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

order in Ireland. He encouraged them to take temporary refuge in France, offered to sponsor the education of young Irish monks at the College of Saint Bernard in Paris, and opened the gates of Clairvaux to all those who were ready to co-operate with his reformatory plans.[24] Shortly before his death at the last visitation by Abbot Boucherat in 1624 out of the total of 104 religious twenty were originally outsiders, many of them refugee monks from Ireland.[25]

Despite this gratifying success, Maugier still felt helpless against the eventual succession of Claude Largentier which, in his judgment, was identical with the loss of Clairvaux for the reform. To prepare properly for any emergency, he organized his most faithful devotees under his exclusive leadership, entering into a coded correspondence with them. For the same reason he ingratiated himself with the protector of the order in Paris, Cardinal La Rochefoucauld, keeping him informed in his own way, and preparing the cardinal for his impending intervention in behalf of the reform. When the cardinal was, indeed, appointed in 1622 as apostolic visitor of the order in France his drastic interference with the internal affairs of the order opened a new era in the history of the Strict Observance.

Naturally, Abbot Maugier's activity could not remain in the dark. His correspondence was intercepted, and the secret code was promptly published by the "ancients," with the obvious intent of discrediting its author. The tension between "abstinents" and "ancients" instead of abating mounted to a new high, and Denis Largentier had to visualize in his last years the inevitable collapse of his life's work, the peaceful and organic reformation of the order in the spirit of patient understanding and co-operation. At his death in 1624 the days of the untroubled spread of the Strict Observance were over. Due to the unfortunate personal rivalry between Maugier and Claude Largentier, Clairvaux was, indeed, lost for the reform, a setback which the movement never managed to overcome. The subsequent authoritative measures and royal patronage proved to be poor substitutes for the patience and wisdom buried with the last great Abbot of Clairvaux.

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[24] Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MSS. 3247, fol. 38.
[25] *Défense des règlements . . .*, p. 107.

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

The Lord. By Romano Guardini. Translated from the German by Elinor Castendyk Briefs. (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. 1954. Pp. xi, 535. $6.50.)

This is a monumental study of the Lord. It is more than a conventional life of Christ in scope and in method. The scope is broader in that the author employs in addition to the Gospel materials, the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse. From the entire New Testament, without pretense of completeness, the portrait of the Lord is drawn. The method may be best described as "meditative," which is not at all to say that this is a book of meditations in the accepted sense of that expression. Untrammeled by footnotes or bibliographical references, the writing ranges widely and deeply in the world of exegesis, history, metaphysics, and mysticism with compelling erudition and gracious ease. It is the work of a learned and a thinking man. It is a different and refreshing approach to the study of Jesus in history and faith, or better, in the expressed faith of the New Testament that is at once historical and supra-historical. "All one can do is demonstrate from ever new points of departure how all attributes, all characteristics of Christ terminate in the incomprehensible, an incomprehensibility, however, of infinite promise" (preface).

The first lines of the portrait are drawn from the Gospels (Parts I-V). In these chapters Monsignor Guardini almost continually stirs the Christian consciousness into a greater awareness of the meaning of the Incarnation. The "otherness" of Christ is constantly emphasized. In Part VI (Resurrection and Transfiguration), the life of the transfigured Christ receives a metaphysical and mystical emphasis that this reviewer has not encountered elsewhere. The same may be said of the life of the Lord as lived in the primitive Church through the spirit of Jesus. The last part of the book (Part VII: Time and Eternity) presents "meditations" on the Apocalypse, which this reader did not find as satisfying as the earlier portions.

The work sustains an unusually high level of quality but is not without some rise and fall. The author is at his best in what may be described as metaphysical reflections. They are rooted in a sense of exegesis and history but assume their proportions from philosophy and theology. His insights and perceptions are sometimes surprising, at times startling, and always provocative. Not every interpretation is acceptable, but none is unworthy of consideration. This truly great book is required reading for every serious student of the person and significance of Christ.

The translation is adequate. Occasionally there is a somewhat disturbing abruptness of style due to word order and rather unorthodox punctuation. There is a slight obscurity at other times due to Germanisms in style. More serious in such a significant work are occasional mistranslations such as "instance" for "instant" (twice, p. 113), misspellings, such as "Jesajanic" for "Isaian" (p. 98), and an occasional misprint.

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Réflexions sur les fouilles vaticanes. Le rapport officiel et la critique. Données archéologiques. Données épigraphiques et littéraires. By José Ruysschaert. [Louvain: Extrait de la *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique,* XLVIII-XLIX (1953-1954). Pp. 116].

By far the most important and complete critique of the explorations beneath St. Peter's thus far to appear is Ruysschaert's *Réflexions,* based upon a thorough critical appraisal of the data published in the *Esplorazione sotto la confessione di San Pietro in Vaticano eseguite negli anni 1940-1949* [I (text) and II (plates), Città del Vaticano, 1951], together with an intimate knowledge of the excavations themselves. M. Ruysschaert, a scriptor in the Vatican, devotes the first section of his essay to a reappraisal of the archaeological evidence, concluding with the observation that the original excavators were correct in deciding: 1) that under the *nicchia dei pallii* was found a grave which *ca.* 160 A.D. was partially covered over by a red wall, and that this grave was that of St. Peter; 2) that with certain reservations, it is probable that the bones found in that site belong to this grave, and had never left the spot.

Supplying an all but exhaustive bibliography of the subject to date (cf. pp. 1, 3, 8-9, 57), it is Ruysschaert's conviction that thus far none of the more important objections[1] have really touched the solid conjectures and conclusions of the original report. He maintains that the critics, for the most part, either start from an imprecise knowledge of the archaeological facts, or by focusing attention on one particular factor, tend to miscalculate the impact of the evidence as a whole. Admittedly, they are dealing with a site whose accessibility is most

[1] Cf. e.g., A. von Gerkan, "Kritische Studien zu den Ausgrabungen unter der Petruskirche in Rom," Sonderdruck aus *Trierer Zeitschrift,* XXII (1954), 26-55, who after a careful, and in most instances critical, reconsideration of the original report maintains that "the search for the grave site of the Prince of the Apostles is not yet concluded."

limited; in which the scrutiny of the archaeological data is severely conditioned by the structural requirements of the present basilica.

On the other hand, M. Ruysschaert does not agree with all the conclusions of the report. He believes that contrary to the conjectures of the excavators the tomb γ is a pagan grave, the first to have been placed in area P. He is not convinced that the first attempt at surrounding Peter's grave was a small rectangular wall carrying out the indications of m'; nor is he in complete accord with the supposed system of enclosure of the grave and monument pivoting on wall G.

These last observations prepare the way for the second and most striking section of his thesis. Having exhausted the present archaeological data, M. Ruysschaert turns to the literary and epigraphical evidence in search of new orientations for the site itself. Focusing attention on hitherto obscure or unverified statements in the *Liber pontificalis*, he believes that the graves in area P can very well be those of the earliest popes beginning with Linus. He thus supposes a relocation of graves ε, α, δ, and μ, originally placed in area Q, but brought into closer proximity to the tomb of Peter at the commencement of the Constantinian basilica.

A rereading of the biographies of Popes Anacletus and St. Sylvester, together with information supplied by St. Jerome, the lives of Pelagius II (579-590), and Gregory the Great (590-604), as well as a letter of the latter to the Empress Constantina, assist him in reappraising the account of the interior of St. Peter's supplied by Gregory of Tours in his *Gloria martyrum* written before 594. He thus arrives at a plausible explanation for the bronze coffin and the cross of gold with which Constantine is said to have adorned the tomb. These somewhat revolutionary theories are advanced as working hypotheses which call for new information regarding the content of the graves in area P, and a reconsideration of the chronology of the workings of the original grave site monument. Meanwhile M. Ruysschaert's discussion of the *Petros* in Greek letters discovered in the wall G, the *Tropaeum Gaii*[2], as well as the *graffiti*, and the "Petrine document" in the mausoleum of the Valerii are all exacting and sensible.

Conscious of the tenuous nature of the congeries of conjectures involved in his over-all thesis, the author made a wise decision in separating his evaluation of the archaeological evidence from the further theorizing induced with the literary evidence. Nevertheless, in the first part there are some inconsistencies in his conjectures regarding the disturbance of

[2] Cf. the recent study of C. Mohrmann, "A propos de deux mots controverses de la latinité chrétienne, Tropaeum Nomen," *Vigiliae christianae*, VIII (1954), 154-173, with the further observations of J. Ruysschaert in a recensional note in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, XLIX (1954), 1097-1098.

the grave site itself through the "destruction of the second century" (pp. 48-52), and his claim that fundamentally the grave remained untouched (p. 55). Likewise he cannot seem to make up his mind in regard to a translation of the relics in A.D. 258, despite the almost conclusive lack of evidence for this theory as pointed out by É. Griffe, "La question du transfert des reliques de S. Pierre *ad catacumbas*," in *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*, LIV (1953), 129-142.

In the end, M. Ruysschaert states frankly: "That which has appeared and remains a source of disappointment or of scepticism is, it appears to us, the better mark of the authenticity of the discovery." Had anything of a sepulchral nature going back to Constantine been unearthed, there would immediately have been raised the hagiographic formula pointing to a Constantinian discovery of a grave because one had to be discovered. He maintains that the present excavations present certain facts that even the most hypercritical cannot explain away—treat them as hypercritically as they may: a grave site going back to the first century, indications of some arrangement of masonry leading to the monument of the third quarter of the second century, and a clear, archaeologically supported tradition pointing to the burial site of St. Peter.

This continuity of the tradition concerning the grave site is likewise the conclusion of J. C. M. Toynbee's "The Shrine of St. Peter and Its Setting," in *Journal of Roman Studies*, XLIII (1953), 1-26, as well as of J. Fink, "Archäeologie des Petrusgrabes," *Theologische Revue*, L (1954), 82-102, although the latter attacks the problem from a completely independent viewpoint. Professor Fink begins an exceptionally brilliant excursus by admitting, with the majority of negative-finding critics, that neither the actual grave nor the chronology of the original report are fully ascertained. Then detouring through a selectively detailed study of ancient funerary monuments, he comes to the conclusion that the monument of Gaius does, indeed, mark the spot of the Petrine burial—but that the actual grave is to be identified rather with tomb θ.

One fact stands out pre-eminent through all the efforts thus far expended in attempting to decipher the archaeological findings beneath St. Peter's: the facts lie buried in a locale and a period of extreme obscurity; but they underlie certain definite chronological indications of the early second century. This points almost inevitably to the first century for the origin of the earliest grave site. Whereas the data pointing to the grave of St. Peter is not absolute, it is of sufficient weight to compel the careful consideration of anyone approaching the problem from a fundamentally scientific viewpoint.

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Church and State Through the Centuries. A Collection of Historic Documents with Commentaries. Translated and edited by Sidney Z. Ehler and John B. Morrall. (Westminster, Maryland: Newman Press. 1954. Pp. xiv, 625. $6.75.)

The aim of this collection, the introduction records, has been to provide "reliable English translations of the most significant official documents in . . . the story of the Church's relationship with the secular political power through . . . twenty centuries." The editors have kept strictly to official texts: Catholic Church documents (largely papal) on the one hand, civil statutes or declarations on the other. Thus designedly the great proportion of private theorists on Church and State, whose writings are laid under contribution by R. W. and A. J. Carlyle in the *History of Medieval Political Theory in the West,* finds no place between these covers.

Commentaries upon the texts have been kept to a wise minimum and are quite satisfactory, though the publisher might have differentiated them more clearly from the translated texts. Of these latter there are seventy-nine—thirty-one put in English for the first time—running in chronological sequence from Trajan's rescript to Pliny in 113 A.D. to a Czechoslovak decree of 1949. For so handy and so handsome a compilation the editors deserve much gratitude.

Two-thirds of the book is given over to documents of the last three centuries. Here one finds e.g., the Edict of Nantes and its Revocation, the French Civil Constitution of the Clergy (1790) and the Concordat of 1801, the British Catholic Emancipation Act (1829), the Italian Law of Guarantees (1871) and Bismarck's *Kulturkampf* enactment; on the papal side, there are Pius IX's Syllabus of Errors, Leo XIII's *Immortale Dei* and *Rerum novarum,* Pius XI's *Quadragesimo anno, Non abbiamo bisogno, Mit brennender Sorge, Divini Redemptoris* and the Mexican encyclical of 1937, all *in extenso.* Here, too, are the Lateran treaties of 1929 and the concordat with Nazi Germany (1933), though neither the Portuguese concordat of 1940 (text in *L'Osservatore Romano,* June 2, 1940) nor that with Spain in 1953 [*Acta Apostolicae Sedis,* XLV (1953), 625-656] appear. It is matter for regret that Pius XI's important letter of May 30, 1929, to Cardinal Gasparri on the Lateran Concordat [text in *L'Osservatore Romano,* June 6, 1929, commentary in D. A. Binchy, *Church and State in Fascist Italy* (London, 1941), pp. 216 ff.] has not been assigned place in this collection.

Necessarily, compilations such as this are selective rather than exhaustive. Still, fuller coverage was possible. Had the editors pruned the lengthy, and largely irrelevant, encyclicals *Rerum novarum* and *Quadragesimo anno,* other materials could have been added without

increasing the size of the volume. Comparison with Joannes LoGrasso, *Ecclesia et Status. Fontes selecti* (Rome, 1939; enlarged edition, 1952) shows significant omissions, e.g., Pope Leo I's Epistle 156; Pope Symmachus' Epistle 10; Gregory II's Epistle 13; Gregory VII's *Multa interroganda* of August 25, 1076; Emperor Frederick II's broadside of July 31, 1245, with Innocent IV's response; Boniface VIII's *Clericis laicos;* Nicholas V's letter of June 18, 1452, to Alphonse of Portugal; Pius IX's declaration of July 20, 1871; St. Pius X's encyclical *Vehementer.* Room might have been made for a number of civil statutes scattered through B. J. Kidd, *Documents Illustrative of the Continental Reformation* (Oxford, 1911), for the Elizabethan penal legislation which is conveniently collected in the appendix to Dodd-Tierney, *Church History of England,* III (London, 1840), and for the Portuguese enactment of April 20, 1911, separating Church and State, together with Pius X's strictures in the encyclical of May 24, 1911, both of which are in Z. Giacometti, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Trennung von Staat und Kirche* (Tübingen, 1926).

The editors, unfortunately, present but a poor sampling of the teaching of two great modern popes. Cognizance should surely have been taken of Pope Leo XIII's encyclicals *Libertas* (1888), *Sapientiae christianae* (1890), *Inter gravissimas* (1892), and *Longinqua oceani* (1895). It is scarcely wise to represent Pope Pius XII only by his discourse of October 2, 1945, to the Rota and by his July 1, 1949, excommunication of communists. It may, therefore, be suggested that future editions of this handbook reconsider both pontificates. Materials for the first are readily available in the seven volumes of *Actes de Léon XIII* (Paris, 1933). For the second, there is the convenient catalogue of Sister M. Claudia, *Guide to the Documents of Pius XII, 1939-1949* (Westminster, Maryland, 1951), which notes English translations where extant, and the quasi-official series *Discorsi e radiomessaggi di S.S. Pio XII* (Milan, 1941 ff.) which continues to appear. With such reworking there should not be danger that allocutions as significant as those of Pius XII to the Rota on October 6, 1946, and October 29, 1947, to the Lenten preachers on March 10, 1948, all of which are excerpted in Francis J. Powers, *Papal Pronouncements on the Political Order* (Westminster, Maryland, 1952) and the discourse *Ci riesce* of December 6, 1953, in *Discorsi e radiomessaggi,* XV, 483-492, be passed over in the future.

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Alexandrian Christianity. Selected Translations of Clement and Origen with Introduction and Notes. By John E. L. Oulton and Henry Chadwick. [Library of Christian Classics, Volume II.] (Philadelphia: Westminster Press. 1954. Pp. 475. $5.00.)

With two Catholic translations of the patristic and ecclesiastical writers concurrently in process of publication, this work might appear superfluous to prospective buyers. For contrary to its title, the work under review is not a history of Alexandrian Christianity. The sub-title gives a more definite idea of the contents: Translations of Book III (On Marriage) and Book VII (On Spiritual Perfection) of the *Miscellanies* (*Stromata*) of Clement and Origen's treatise *On Prayer, The Exhortation to Martyrdom* and the newly discovered (1941) *Dialogue with Heracleides* (on the soul of Christ and the theology of prayer). If the work of the Anglican divines only offered a version of the last work it would be well worth the price. For it is the only English translation available of the great Alexandrian thinker.

However, there are other qualities of this version that commend it to theologians and to students of Greek. The critical edition of Staehlin in the Berlin Corpus provides the improved Greek original of the Clementine treatises and Koetschau's text of Origen is the basis for the translation here presented. As for the newly discovered *Dialogue with Heracleides,* the work of the French scholars, especially Scherer, the editor of the text, Guéraud, and Capelle has been used—and acknowledged. The translation itself is always graceful and lucid. Disputed points are relegated to the notes, where abundant citations from different schools of theological thought make it clear that the scholarship of the translators is broad and conscientious. They are, moreover, alert to the needs of the average non-professional reader, unaccustomed to the refinements and profundities of theological thinking, especially, of such writers as Clement and Origen. A painstaking analysis of the content precedes each of the Alexandrians' treatises.

And yet, without being captious, two points would seem to call for some mild demurrer: first, Clement and Origen would hardly seem adequate "representatives" of theological thought at Alexandria. Surely, St. Athanasius and St. Cyril are at least as typical as the bold and venturesome, though generally orthodox, thinkers here presented. Second, it would seem an oversimplification of the facts to speak of "*profound* (italics ours) differences of outlook" that had come to light in less than 200 years, as Professor Oulton opines, on comparing the *De oratione* of Tertullian and Origen's treatise on the same subject (p. 229). He is better inspired when he says that "one was Latin and the other Greek," even when he declares that "one (Tertullian) is authoritative, the other

speculative." But how can he arrive at the conclusion, so latitudinarian—and may we add in all kindness—so Anglican, as the following: "It is better frankly to acknowledge that these two extreme types of Christianity emerged early in its history, and have continued ever since, than to attempt a formal reconciliation between them. *If we will allow room for them both in a Catholic Church, we shall serve the Church better than by seeking for them a common denominator*" (italics ours). Both Tertullian and Origen would have recoiled in horror and amazement from the implications of the statement.

But to point out the Anglican inspiration of this work is far—very far—from refusing a sincere tribute of praise to a work of first-rate scholarship. The translations are faithful and distinguished, the work of all scholars is loyally acknowledged and put under contribution whenever it seems helpful. In short, all those who will have occasion to use this new translation of Clement's *Miscellanies* (based on J. B. Mayor's) or the first translations of Origen's *On Prayer* and his *Dialogue with Heracleides* will be beholden to scholars who are fully aware of the exigencies of this sector of scholarship.

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The Life of Saint Peter Thomas by Philippe de Mézières. Edited from Hitherto Unpublished Manuscripts with an Introduction and Notes. By Joachim Smet, O. Carm. (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum. 1954. Pp. 242.)

This second volume of the series, Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana, is the life of a fourteenth-century saint by a fourteenth-century biographer, edited and annotated to make it a valuable source for a little known phase of fourteenth-century history. Saint Peter Thomas (ca. 1305-1356), Carmelite, papal envoy, bishop, and papal legate to the Far East, found an admirer, devoted friend, and worthy biographer in Philippe de Mézières, chancellor to the King of Cyprus and councillor to Charles V of France. Intent only on writing the dramatic life of his "spiritual father," Philippe was, nevertheless, a unique witness to the stirring events of the times in which Peter's life was cast. Like most hagiographers of the age, Philippe was inclined toward overstatement when depicting the virtues and merits of his friend; but the same cannot be said of his treatment of the political, diplomatic, and military events in which he himself took an active and important part. Of these he is the reliable, often the only source. It is interesting to note that Luke Wadding, the

renowned Franciscan annalist, published a *Vita et gestae B. Petri Thomae* at Lyons in 1637 based on Mézières' text supplemented by documents from the Vatican Archives. Wadding began his work under the impression that Peter Thomas was the Franciscan of the same name who immediately preceded the Carmelite Peter Thomas in the See of Patti in Sicily. A like mistake, but in reverse order, has been made by others who ascribed the theological works of the Franciscan Peter Thomas to the Carmelite.

Using seven fourteenth and fifteenth-century manuscripts—the only ones known to exist—Father Smet gives a perfectly collated Latin text of the *Vita*. The spelling has been modernized throughout. Besides dividing the original solid text into chapters and paragraphs, the editor has added numerous well placed and well thought out topical headings in English which enhance the reference value of the work. While the critical apparatus leaves nothing to be desired, the editor cannot be commended too highly for the splendid work he has done in providing the reader with an adequate historical and bibliographical background. These helpful notes not only illumine the text but form a scholarly contribution to the period covered by the *Vita*. Where a necessary historical explanation would be so long as to overburden the text, it is wisely added in a well written appendix.

The proof-reading of a work of this kind must have been a trying task; but it has been done well. Only one error—a faulty reference to an appendix (p. 93)—seems to have escaped an otherwise sharp eye. A well arranged index of persons and places will be appreciated by all who have occasion to use any part of the work as a source. There are many manuscripts as interesting and as valuable historically as Mézières' *Vita* still awaiting the attention of savants. May they all have the good fortune to receive the same sympathetic and scholarly treatment.

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Saint Bridget of Sweden. By Johannes Jorgensen. Translated by Ingeborge Lund. Volume I, *1303-1349;* Volume II, *1349-1373.* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd. 1954. Pp. xiii, 310; ix, 354. $8.50 per set.)

St. Bridget is one of the few Swedes between the Vikings and the Vasas who is known outside of Scandinavia. Lack of an adequate English biography has restricted her fame. The present translation of Jorgensen's

exhaustive Danish study now fills this gap in the bibliography of the fourteenth century. Volume I describes Bridget's life in Sweden from childhood to motherhood and her service at the court of King Magnus Eriksson and Queen Blanche. After her husband died, Bridget's attention was absorbed by prayer, and the foundation of her Bridgettine congregation. Volume II concerns her voluntary Italian exile. From this time her horizons widened. Jorgensen ably sketches Charles IV, Albornoz, Clement V, Joanna of Naples, Rienzo, and others with whom Bridget had dealings. The turmoil of Rome in the days of the Avignon Papacy is strikingly depicted.

In failing to examine Bridget critically, Jorgensen has mishandled several important facets of his subject. The historian's interest in St. Bridget rests chiefly on the way in which her life reflected mediaeval religious and social ideals. Yet her morbid, almost puritanical tendencies are not essentially characteristic of Catholic sanctity; they reveal a close affinity with Huizinga's one-sided concept of the spirit of the late Middle Ages. This should be indicated to the reader. Bridget obviously succumbed to the temptation of aristocratic religious zealots to identify the welfare of their own social class with the divine will. The author seems afraid of casting aspersions on her sanctity by questioning her judgment in social and political matters. Nor is an explanation offered why, unlike her contemporary St. Catherine of Siena, Bridget had so little influence on the important people all about her.

Protest must be registered against excessive interpolation of foreign phrases. Long passages quoted or paraphrased from the *Revelations* (accepted, unfortunately, at face value) make tedious reading. At times the book reads like a Baedeker as Jorgensen painstakingly and lovingly traces the route of Bridget's many pilgrimages. Errors are readily detected. Cologne was not a university in Albertus Magnus' day (I, 105). Benedictines in the fifth century would have ante-dated the Benedictine rule (I, 109). Add a negative in, "For the popes had resided in Rome since 1305" (I, 158). Popes Benedict XI and Urban V are beatified, not canonized (I, 159, n.). Simeon of Russia could scarcely have used the title "czar" (I, 187). There is something incongruous about German penitents during the Black Death marching in procession singing the *De profundis* and *Es ist ein Reis entsprungen*, a popular Christmas carol (II, 6). Read "Theodosius" for "Theodoric" (II, 8), "Arians" for "Aryans" (II, 14). Such trivial points do not detract from the book's value; they do indicate the wide range of mediaeval lore it contains.

RAYMOND H. SCHMANDT

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Joan of Arc. By Lucien Fabre. Translated from the French by Gerard Hopkins. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc. 1954. Pp. 367. $5.00.)

Lucien Fabre states the case quite honestly when he says, "Few persons reading the record of Joan's life can remain neutral" (p. 9). Since Fabre confesses "how unworthy he is . . . of the wonderful human being who forms its subject" (p. 11), one must number him among those who have succumbed to the appeal of Joan's heroic virtues. Those virtues the author reveals in all their glorious simplicity. This is the chief merit of the volume. It is the life of a great saint, written with clarity and feeling. Yet while the ordinary writer may be excused for waxing so enthusiastic about one so admirable as Joan, as a historian he must not permit that admiration to do violence to the historical processes. Fabre has no patience with those who opposed Joan, however indirectly. Henry V is always the "Cut-throat," while with those whom the divine Avenger presumably punished for their part in the martyrdom of his heroine he includes Henry VI, aged nine at the time! His characterizations are arresting, but those of a novelist rather than historian. "His [the Constable of France] mouth was bitter, spiteful, twisted, with thin lips that betokened cruelty and disdain. His powerful, stubborn jaw terminated in a massive mud-coloured chin, and a jowl that was like the strap-hinge of a cupboard. . . . He had a bull neck and the soul of a murderer, a bully, a burner of witches" (p. 183). If historians wrote like this, there would be an end to the age-old question of whether history is an art or a science.

But this criticism does not mean that Fabre's re-interpretations, as he calls them, do not merit the serious attention of scholars. The historian has no monopoly of clear thinking and thoughtful analysis, although Fabre would have simplified the task of evaluating his interpretations had he documented his statements. Fabre credits Joan with considerable knowledge of military science, particularly in the grouping and employment of artillery. While insisting upon the supernatural character of her motivation and achievement he, nevertheless, explains most of the maid's extraordinary accomplishments in quite natural terms, a method distinctly superior to that employed by the skeptical scholar who conveniently ignores these feats as feats. Most unusual is the author's defense of Charles VII's behavior both before and after his coronation. The king's tendency to procrastinate was not due to sloth, irresolution, or cowardice. "The dread of shedding his subjects' blood carried far more weight with the King than did his desire to conquer them" (p. 227). The book is intriguing and in the main sound and the picture the author draws of Joan eminently inspiring. She was, indeed, a wonderful person!

JOSEPH H. DAHMUS

Pennsylvania State University

South China in the Sixteenth Century. Edited by C. R. Boxer. [Second Series. No. CVI.] (London: Hakluyt Society, 1953. Pp. xci, 388.)

Until the publication in 1615 of Nicholas Trigault's *De christiana expeditione apud Sinas,* educated Europeans derived their ideas of China from Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza's *Historia de las cosas mas notables, ritos y costumbres del gran Reyno de la China.* Within fifteen years of its first publication in Rome in 1585 this book, in one or another of its thirty editions published in several European languages, was familiar to most educated Europeans. Mendoza himself never saw China. His work was based upon two eyewitness accounts: the *Tractado em se cotam muito por esteso as cousas da China,* by the Dominican, Gaspar da Cruz, printed at Evora in 1569-1570, and the *Relacion de las cosas de China que propriamente se llama Taybin* by the Augustinian, Martin de Rada. Rada's account was based entirely upon his own observations made in the course of his visit to Fukien from the Philippines in 1575. Gaspar da Cruz's personal experience in China was limited to a few months spent in Canton in 1556. In writing his *Tractado* he supplemented his own keen observations by borrowing freely and frankly from a narrative written by the Portuguese, Galeote Pereira, who had been a prisoner in South China from 1549 to 1552.

The volume here under review contains in English translation these three narrative accounts which supplied Mendoza with the source material for his sixteenth-century "best-seller." The editor is Camoes Professor of Portuguese in the University of London. The translation of Galeote Pereira's text is based upon an English version by Richard Willis, published in London in 1577. Professor Boxer has corrected Willis' version by comparing it with the Portuguese manuscript copies of Pereira's original report. The translation of the da Cruz account is based upon the English version by Samuel Purchas, printed in London in 1625. Here, too, the editor has corrected the Purchas version by comparison with the original Portuguese edition of 1569-1570. In the absence of an early English translation the editor has written his own version of Martin de Rada's "Relacion," from a comparison of three sixteenth-century Spanish versions.

In addition to the basic texts themselves this volume contains a succinct and well written account of the early Portuguese and Spanish contacts with China (pp. xix-xxxvii), a biographical sketch of the three writers (pp. l-lxvii), appendices, and bibliography. The text is supplemented, but not burdened, with informative footnotes. Anyone interested in the history of early European-Chinese cultural contacts will find this volume a welcome addition to his library.

GEORGE H. DUNNE

St. Francis Xavier Church
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The Reformation in England. Volume III: *"True Religion now Established."* By Philip Hughes. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1954. Pp. xxix, 457. $7.50.)

With the appearance of this third volume of his study of *The Reformation in England* Father Hughes has brought to completion a major work of historical scholarship of established authority. In its completeness this wide survey of the Tudor religious revolution is unique. No other contemporary historian, Catholic or non-Catholic, has attempted to retell the full story on this scale in the present century, and it seems likely that the work will remain for many years the standard guide to the more detailed study of this fascinating and complicated period of our history. The earlier volumes were warmly received by all the critics. The present volume cannot fail to merit the same reception, showing, as it does once again, the same evidence of the author's command of his materials and of his ability to arrive at a fair and balanced judgment in the most controversial questions.

Father Hughes' theme in this last volume is two-fold. It is, first, the history of the new Anglican Church now finally established by Elizabeth, and of its fortunes to the year 1604; and to this first half of the work he has given the sub-title, "The Second Conversion of England." For it was, indeed, nothing less than the problem of converting the English people to Protestantism that was the [first] task which faced that tiny minority, clerical and lay, who were the begetters of the new church of 1559. There is much that is still uncertain in the ecclesiastical history of these early years of the first Elizabeth, but this much at least is beyond doubt: that the English people were not at this time Protestants, and that few, indeed, showed any enthusiasm for the new religion now to be imposed on all and sundry, with all the authority of the crown and the increasing rigor of the law. Even the ardent few, as Father Hughes shows, were hard put to it to define the new faith once they turned away from slandering Catholics to the infinitely more difficult task of deciding what was now to be the religious faith and duty of the average Englishman. Equally clear is the indifference of the same average man when his new fathers in God had eventually decided for him what he was now to believe. The history of the Elizabethan Church has as yet been little studied on the local scale, and there is much work yet to be done on local records, and especially records of visitation. But there is enough in print to show the scale of the attempt now made to impose conformity. For "never," says Father Hughes, "were Englishmen so meticulously shepherded, so systematically spied upon, and their activities and omissions so carefully reported to the central authority, as in their dealings with God, through what is called religion in the reign of Queen Elizabeth." But indifference was not the only problem with which the new bishops

had to contend. The revival of the very real differences of theological opinion which had divided the Protestant exiles under Mary enormously complicated the issue. The Puritan revolt was one consequence of this revival of controversy. But far more important, so Father Hughes suggests, was the fact that in the course of this controversy not only were the official apologists of the establishment obliged to abandon the original principles on which their "reform" was founded, but were even obliged to restore those ideas of ecclesiastical authority and of the nature of the Church which they had earlier rejected. Thus at the end of the reign Hooker "began to endow the Church of 1559 with a nature and with attributes which, only thirty years before, Jewel had rejoiced to be able to say that that Church made no claim to possess because they were what no Church could possibly possess." Nothing illustrates more aptly than the issue of this controversy the logical contradictions and the confusion inherent in the new religion from its very origins.

The second theme of the present volume is the history of the Elizabethan government's attempt to destroy what remained of the old faith after the first establishment of the new; and to this part of his work Father Hughes has given the brief but significant title, "Delenda." The first fifteen years of Elizabeth's reign were, from the Catholic point of view, a period of utter disorganization. From this drift to all but certain extinction the Catholic faith in England was saved by the genius of William Allen, and by the zeal and heroism of the priests whom he trained in the English College of Douai—"the greatest religious achievement of Elizabethan England." If this is to some extent a familiar story, it must be said that Father Hughes tells it here with uncommon skill, and with a sense of proportion and of historical perspective which have often been lacking in earlier accounts. Especially are these qualities evident in the brief but masterly relation of the special contribution of the Jesuits, of Parsons no less than of Campion, to the astonishingly successful revival of Catholicism in the 1580's. But it is to the last chapter of this volume that the reader's attention is particularly drawn. Here Father Hughes re-examines the contemporary charges against those of the missionary priests who were martyred. When so much of the Protestant legend is already dead, almost every historian of the Tudor period in our own day has attempted, if not to justify, at least to explain—and even to explain away—what all admit to have been a reign of terror, on the grounds that these priests were either engaged in, or compromised by, treasonable activities. Father Hughes, by a simple appeal to the evidence of their examinations and trials, is able to show convincingly that this charge is completely without foundation, and that it rests, indeed, on nothing more substantial than the propaganda put out by the government to conceal the injustice and barbarity of its own proceedings.

The point is well made. It is a final and fitting commentary on the true nature of what has too long been called "the reformation of religion" in England.

GERARD CULKIN

St. Cuthbert's College
Ushaw

John Whitgift and the English Reformation. Powell Mills Dawley. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1954. Pp. xii, 254. $3.00.)

The title of this book would lead the reader to expect that he might find here a biography of Elizabeth's "little black husband," John Whitgift, who was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1583-1604. But if that is what the prospective reader expects, he will have the same difficulty that a tourist has who is looking for a small structure engulfed with a number of skyscrapers. The name Thomas Cartwright, the stalwart adversary of Whitgift, could just as well have been used in the title, for his name comes up almost as frequently as does that of Whitgift. If the work was not intended as a full fledged biography, that fact should have been made clear in the title. Various writers have suggested that it is sometimes better to give a book a title after the work has been completed. If the present reviewer had not seen the title of the book, and had been asked to give it a name after he had read the manuscript, he would have suggested, "The Church of Elizabeth Tudor."

What was the task which faced the Elizabethan bishops? This is very well stated by the author when he remarks, "Theirs was the immediate responsibility of steering the Elizabethan Church through the narrow straits between the Scylla of Rome and the Charybdis of Puritanism. It was an uncharted course between the rock of Peter and the ever-widening whirlpool that spread out from Geneva" (p. 106). In carrying out this assignment Whitgift ran into a veritable hornet's nest of violent opposition. The mysterious *Marprelate Tracts* described him as the "Pope of Lambeth," because he was supposedly so sympathetic to the Catholics. He was further characterized as "an inquisitor as merciless as Torquemada." In Gardiner's opinion Whitgift was narrow-minded to an almost incredible degree, and Macaulay described him as "a mean and tyrannical priest." Dawley maintains that these attacks and descriptions were unfounded, and he makes out a good case for his thesis. The position of the Archbishop of Canterbury was, indeed, difficult, since Elizabeth wanted conformity and there were those of her council who were sympathetic with the Puritans, e.g., Burleigh, and at the same time there were

violent crusaders, the divines of the opposition. Elizabeth had practically "suspended" Whitgift's predecessor Grindal who was too sympathetic to the opposition. The archbishop had one consolation, and that was that Elizabeth approved of him since she found him loyal and efficient. This is why she familiarly called him "her little black husband." Whitgift was unmarried, but there is no historical foundation for suspecting that the title connotated anything "irregular in their domestic relations."

It is quite obvious that Dawley is sometimes the "preacher" rather than the historian as e.g., when he says, "The *tragic* attempt to return the nation to papal Catholicism was over" (p. 45). The use of the word *"tragic"* reveals the religious adherent more than it does the historian. Again, "Smithfield was the arena where Mary's battle was lost" (p. 45). The historian might answer this undocumented statement that the author has more in the conclusion than the premises warrant. In fact, it is a conclusion and there are no premises, or evidence, as the historian would say.

The student of Tudor history will find very little that is new in Dawley's book, except possibly the partial rehabilitation of the character of Whitgift.

EDWARD V. CARDINAL

St. Viator Church
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Friedrich Spee und die Hexenprozesse: Die Stellung und Bedeutung der CAUTIO CRIMINALIS in der Geschichte der Hexenverfolgungen. By Hugo Zwetsloot, S.J. (Trier: Paulinus-Verlag. 1954. Pp. 345. DM 19.)

It is seldom that one writes a book expressly for those who will not read it. And yet that is precisely what Friedrich Spee, S.J. (1591-1635) did when he wrote the *Cautio criminalis,* which by unanimous consent ranks as the best book in every respect that has ever been written on the witchcraft trials. Soberly diffident concerning the effect of his work in an age when witch-hunting had reached a new high and the fires of persecution were wiping out entire families, Spee still gave the best that was in him. Animated by a profound sense of justice and zeal for the truth, filled with love for humanity, and armed with irrefragable logic, he attacked the method of procedure in these trials and, indirectly, exposed the whole delusion of the witchcraft mania, which according to the varying estimates claimed anywhere from 500,000 to 9,000,000 victims during the four centuries that it raged.

Spee was not the only champion for justice and human rights, but he was, through his book, the one most responsible, at least indirectly, for the cessation of the witches' trials and the abolition of the use of torture. His epoch-making book was first published in 1631, but these signal triumphs were achieved only in the next century, primarily through the efforts of Christian Thomasius (1655-1728), jurist and rationalist, who drew his greatest inspiration and strongest arguments from the *Cautio criminalis.*

The definite conclusions reached by Spee were: almost all the victims were innocent; the torture and the trial made the witches; an innocent person, once accused, very rarely escaped condemnation; the unfortunate accused were subjected to torture illegally without sufficient reason, and, granting even the legality, the torture was inhuman, exceedingly cruel, and degrading and gave no certainty of the truth; wherefore, it ought to be abolished completely; rumors and denunciations lack all value as circumstantial evidence.

Chapters one and two and four to nine of Dr. Zwetsloot's book are devoted to a thorough study of Spee's historic work and the juridical procedure of these abnormal trials. Chapter three gives a biographical sketch of Spee and discusses the origin of his book, while chapters ten and eleven treat Spee's personal views concerning the witchcraft delusion and the influence of his work. An epilogue, four appendices, and fourteen pages of index conclude this excellent study.

GEORGE J. UNDREINER

Pontifical College Josephinum

The Irish Catholic Confederacy and the Puritan Revolution. By Thomas L. Coonan. (Dublin: Clonmore and Reynolds Ltd. New York: Columbia University Press. 1954. Pp. xviii, 402. $6.00.)

The author became interested in this very complicated period in Irish history from the point of view of constitutional development. The struggle of the Irish against the domination of the British parliament was found to be remarkably similar to the early American denial of the imperial pretensions of the same parliament over their destiny. Coonan decided not to separate the constitutional history from the religious and economic phases of the period and has given us a satisfactorily comprehensive account of all three. He has successfully portrayed the other side of the Irish question as against the English and Protestant viewpoint of Richard Bagwell's *Ireland under the Stuarts.* He combats the assertion of political incapacity and opposition to social order directed against the

Irish of that time and contends that it was political realism and national fear that occasioned the Irish opposition to the transfer in the seventeenth century of sovereign power from the crown to the parliament in England. Puritan imperialism for them was Protestantism personified, determined upon the destruction of the Catholic Church and Catholics in Ireland.

The Catholic Confederacy was based upon a system of government devised by the Irish Catholics to rule the country after the rebellion of 1641. Its purpose was to organize defense against the avowed purpose of the Puritan parliament to destroy them; to restore the Catholic Church to its proper place; to recover the ancestral lands confiscated and planted by the English and Scots; and to secure the independence of the country and its parliament from the control of the English parliament.

In the general chaos of the period corresponding to the Civil War in England, the bishops at the Synod of Kilkenny in 1642 called upon the military, the Irish nobility, and gentry to establish a government. A national Catholic parliament set up the confederacy which affirmed allegiance to the king but not to the parliament of England. The Supreme Council, the cabinet, exercised the functions of an independent government. The model of civil government was the first national written constitution of modern times. Confederation was taken in the sense of an alliance or league between two national groups, the Old Irish and the Anglo-Irish Catholics; the latter considered themselves a distinct nation. What the Irish needed at the time, however, was not an alliance but over-all national unity. This division eventually spelled disaster even with victory within their grasp. The dominant Anglo-Irish allied themselves with the losing side of the king in the English civil war.

The Anglo-Irish—to which most of the higher clergy, the lawyers, and nobility adhered—controlled the Supreme Council and put their faith in the ineffectual promises of the beleaguered King Charles. The Old Irish, supported by the majority of the lower clergy, under their leader, Owen Roe O'Neill, were convinced that no English government would ever concede anything out of gratitude or justice. They put their faith in the defeat of Ireland's enemies, royalist or parliamentarian, and the ability to treat successfully with whichever party was successful in England. The Anglo-Irish envisioned an English-speaking Ireland, developed along the lines of English tradition; the Old Irish insisted that English institutions be modified by the ancient Irish culture—they were suspected of wanting an independent Gaelic state.

The author gives a graphic description of the representative of royal power in Ireland at the time, James Butler, Earl of Ormond. Born of Catholic parents but, under the ruling of the court of wards, educated as a Protestant, he was thoroughly English and never deviated from the

English Protestant interest in Ireland. The Anglo-Irish identified themselves with him even after he surrendered Dublin to the English parliament against the wishes of Charles that he join with the confederates. Father Coonan is led to state that seldom in the tragic history of Ireland were the destinies of the people voluntarily entrusted to a man less worthy of Irish confidence. Most of the supreme councillors were his dupes; he wormed his way through these agents into the councils of the Catholics and brought about division, defeatism, confusion, and civil war and finally exposed the country to the depredations of Cromwell. Through his influence the one competent general in the country, Owen Roe, was excluded from the command of the military. The learned author gives the details of the movement which led to the open rebellion of 1641 and refutes the contention of the English Protestant writers that there was a general massacre of Protestants at the time.

The joining of the two factions in Ireland in utter self-defense is described in another chapter. The confederation and its constitution are minutely analyzed. The policy of appeasement begins almost immediately to counterpoise the successful military campaign of O'Neill, whom the Anglo-Irish suspected of wanting to be king. Father Coonan quotes what he calls the only patriotic utterance of 1643, the statement of the papal agent Scarampi, that England's infirmity must be Ireland's opportunity. Scarampi tried to stiffen the backs of the Irish by telling them that they must fight for justice. The attempt of the papal nuncio to keep the Irish to their first resolve also proved futile in the end. The supplies he brought were diverted from O'Neill who alone could and would use them effectively. In the end the nuncio had to witness the Anglo-Irish capitulation to Ormond and to leave the country in peril of his liberty. The death of Owen Roe O'Neill left the stricken country an open prey to the atrocities of Cromwell. The doleful fate of the country under the Puritan leader is described in the chapter preceding the final account of the history of the country up to the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921.

Professor Robert Livingston Scuyler of Columbia University writes a fine complimentary foreword to the book. All scholars are indebted to the author for a well written, comprehensive view of a very complicated and involved period. There are two maps, Ireland before and after the Cromwell settlement, and ten illustrations. The bibliography is complete, there is a good index, and the format is excellent.

MICHAEL J. HYNES

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Sinica Franciscana. Volume V. *Relationes et epistolas Illmi. D. Fr. Bernardini della Chiesa, O.F.M.* Edited by Anastasius van den Wyngaert and Georgius Mensaert, O.F.M. (Romae: Collegium S. Antonii. 1954. Pp. lxiii, 895.)

The fifth volume of *Sinica Franciscana,* the bulkiest to appear yet, is devoted to the correspondence of a single individual, Bernardine della Chiesa, O.F.M., missionary in China and Bishop of Peking from 1699 to 1721. In fact, della Chiesa's correspondence is so extensive that this volume contains only a selection from it. To begin with, a considerable number of his letters which are preserved in the Roman archives of the Society of Jesus are not here edited, being reserved for the Jesuit *Monumenta.* Even with the remainder, there has been selection, carefully made by the editors with a view to ensuring that nothing of historical importance has been omitted. In pursuance of this consideration they have printed in full many of the letters, rather more than half the total, it would seem; other letters they have calendared in whole or in part, giving usually a brief Latin summary. Other letters are merely listed, no indication of their contents being given except the statement that they do not refer to the China mission.

The problem of selection in the editing of documents is a thorny one. Usually no one is as well qualified as the editor to make such a selection, but there is, nevertheless, a general prejudice against editorial selection in principle, and it is not difficult to see reasons. It is not merely that editors in the past selected shamelessly and tendentiously. That danger is slight enough nowadays. Still, the fact remains that selection is an act of judgment, and though an editor is usually very well qualified to make this judgment, his primary task is to present the evidence of the documents. The editors of this volume have stated in their introduction "ut magni sumptus vitentur inutilesque repetitiones, . . . integre publicantur tantum hae epistolae quae vim historicam habent et aliquid novi addunt pro Sinarum missionum historia scitu necessarium vel utile. Ceterae sive in parte sive totaliter omittuntur" (p. lxiii), which must mean that they have passed a judgment not merely whether this or that document contains material relating to the China mission, but whether the information is important enough to print or not.

It is, of course, very obvious that an act of confidence in the judgment of the editors will not be misplaced. They know the correspondence of Bishop della Chiesa as no one else can know it. In addition, they have printed a full list of all his correspondence, whether edited here or not (pp. 11-54); the letters edited are divided into numbered paragraphs, so that any paragraph omitted is automatically noted. Perhaps, in the light of such precautions and the good measure of 895 pages given it is

no more than carping to object to the admission of the principle of editorial selection.

There is no doubt of the good measure given and the thoroughness with which the work of editing has been done. Della Chiesa's correspondence is worth this care, for it is important. He was a leading figure in the missionary effort in China at a time which may have been a decisive one. Certainly, looking back on it over 250 years it is hard not to be conscious of a great opportunity missed. Under the Emperor Kangshi (1655-1723) the time seemed very propitious for the introduction of Christianity. The country was at peace, the emperor interested and favorable. Yet the opportunities were frittered away by the missionaries, mainly in disputes among themselves. The Congregation of Propaganda instituted vicars apostolic in 1680, and insisted that all missionaries take an oath of obedience to them, which many, for various reasons, were unwilling to do. Then there were continuous disputes among the vicars apostolic themselves, helped by the fact that Rome was so far away that by the time a Roman document arrived in China the situation was usually so changed that it was no longer applicable. Then there was continuous trouble with the Portuguese, who looked on China as their special preserve in religious matters, and who were determined that any new bishoprics should be as Portuguese as Macao. Finally, the problem of the Confucian rites came to a head. In 1704 the Holy Office decided that Christians could not take part in these rites. This decision, confirmed in 1710, got a mixed welcome from the missionaries. The emperor and the mandarins regarded it as an affront to China. Their previous favor turned to hostility. It is beyond doubt that the unfavorable decision on the "Chinese rites" was a tremendous practical set-back to the evangelization of China.

Bishop della Chiesa, then, lived in troubled times. Further, he was of the conciliatory type which so often in such times draws on itself the abuse of everybody. Certainly he had his full measure of trouble; his last years in particular were lonely, his death especially so. He remains, however, a key figure in this crucial period, and this thorough and well documented edition of his correspondence very notably adds to our sources for its history.

PATRICK J. CORISH

St. Patrick's College
Maynooth

La Salle, Patron of All Teachers. By Edward A. Fitzpatrick. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1951. Pp. xvii, 428. $6.00.)

An over-busy reviewer might consider his work done for him by the preface of this volume. Not only does the author give a concise notion

of the book's contents, but points to the areas in which new material is presented and fresh interpretations worked out. A first reaction was—give the reader a chance. But as it turned out, the judgment the reviewer made was much in agreement with the author's. The book is a strenuous effort to carve for St. John Baptist de La Salle, founder of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, a niche in modern education's hall of fame. That La Salle does *not* occupy a place commensurate with his stature is all too evident to one pursuing graduate study in education at a secular university. Hence the writing of this book is a highly praiseworthy undertaking. The American educator will learn herein many things about La Salle's vision and the program he got under way. The saint emerges as a pioneer in the promotion of universal education, in teaching the vernacular, in working out a balanced system of rewards and punishments, and in training professional teachers (both religious and lay). La Salle's practical contributions to the theory of simultaneous instruction, his attention to individual differences as well as to homogeneous grouping, to the formation of teacher attitudes through self-criticism, his development of the Latinless secondary school, the vocational school, the reform school—all these are accomplishments that the modern educator considers the proud achievement of his own century, or at least based on a tradition other than the Catholic French. Even finer for the modern reader is Fitzpatrick's clear and detailed analysis of La Salle's religious program. Today's educators are seeking new and better ways of inculcating "moral and spiritual values." Especially public school authorities feel the inadequacy of their present programs. What de La Salle and his brothers worked out shines brightly through these pages.

A school teacher will find this biography easier to read than will the layman. Written by an educator, it has a textbook, nay a dissertation format, and thus loses its holding power over the reader. The system of references is also somewhat confusing. The notes are grouped by chapter at the ends of sections of the book, but the chapters are there identified only by Roman numerals. It was difficult to remember which numeral headed the chapter one was reading at the moment. Nevertheless, Dr. Fitzpatrick cannot be too highly commended for the nobility of his aim and the thoroughness of his research. If the book is read, its epilogue will receive ample justification—"It would be a rash, uninformed or prejudiced historian of education who did not give La Salle a substantial place in the history of education" (p. 404).

W. Kailer Dunn

All Saints Church
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Swift and the Church of Ireland. By Louis A. Landa. (New York: Oxford University Press; Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1954. Pp. xvi, 206. $3.40.)

As guardian of the rights of churchmen, sensitive to encroachments by laymen, and as a lower clergyman in opposition to the higher clergy, Jonathan Swift deserves remembrance in the annals of the Church of Ireland. The depressed state of the Church at the beginning of the eighteenth century, when Swift launched his memorable career at St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, could, in his estimation, be attributed to the extensive lay possession of the tithes. The present volume is largely concerned with the efforts which Swift employed to improve the position of the Church, especially its temporalities. His first notable success came in 1711 when, as chief solicitor in England, he obtained remission of the first fruits and twentieth parts which the crown had levied on the Irish Establishment since the Reformation. This personal triumph paved the way for his appointment as Dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral in 1713, and for his adherence to the Tory cause in politics.

The principal means whereby Swift hoped to strengthen the Church was to establish an interest in it among the gentry of Ireland. But, far from co-operating in this endeavor, the landlords were constantly scheming in parliament to undermine the position of the Church. Legislation sponsored in 1723 by the landed interests, whose ultimate objective was the subversion of certain statutes preventing the alienation of church lands, owed its defeat to a devastating tract by Swift. Again in the 1730's he was engaged in a bitter struggle with the landlords who were agitating in parliament for reduction of the tithes on flax, hemp, and pasture land.

Swift's conflict with the higher clergy was in part due to the failure of the bishops to acknowledge the role he had played in the first-fruits and twentieth parts negotiations. A stronger reason, perhaps, was his adherence to the Irish interest as opposed to the English interest in the Church. He was unalterably opposed to the government's policy of bestowing all the lucrative dioceses and other high positions upon Englishmen. It was this situation which prompted Lecky to remark that the inestimable advantage of Catholics and Presbyterians was the fact that the English government had no control over the appointment of their clergy.

In spite of a certain narrowness of structure, and the omission of much that might be included, Mr. Landa's book is well worth reading, and it establishes well Swift's place in the history of the Church of Ireland.

SAMUEL J. FANNING

Washington, D. C.

Relations des Pays-Bas, de Liège et de Franche-Comté avec le Saint-Siège, d'après les "Lettere di vescovi" conservées aux archives vaticanes (1566-1779). Edited by Abbé Louis Jadin. (Rome: Institut Historique Belge de Rome. 1952. Pp. 637. fr. belges 300.)

The book gives the reader access to more than 800 documents drawn from the letters of bishops (*Lettere di vescovi*) preserved in the Vatican Archives. The letters chosen for reproduction and annotation are those concerning the Low Countries, Liège, and Franche-Comté for the years from 1566 to 1779. They include letters from bishops, heads of religious houses and other ecclesiastics, as well as a few from secular princes, to the Holy See, and letters from the Holy See to these same persons. They are arranged in chronological order. The inconvenience that might result for the reader from this arrangement, by which a series of letters relating to one topic does not necessarily follow uninterruptedly, is obviated by a thorough index of the names of persons and places. The author's notes supply biographical and bibliographical information on the persons writing, those addressed, and those mentioned in the letters, and bibliographical indications extend to the general matters treated in the letters. These notes combined with the index supply what is generally sought in a formal bibliographical list.

In his introduction Abbé Jadin explains the principle on which he has edited the letters. All are given in French, no matter what the language of the original. In most cases the texts of the letters have not been given in full, and some fifty of them have been summarized in a line or two each. The reference to them has been made in view of its usefulness to biographers and local historians. All the *Lettere di vescovi* that deal with the Low Countries, Liège, and Franche-Comté are given, at least in summary form, in the book, with the exception of a series of 168 letters to and from Thomas Philip of Alsace. These letters covering the years 1712-1719 will be analyzed by Abbé Jadin in a projected study of the correspondence of this ecclesiastic.

The technical skill with which these documents are presented is all the more to be appreciated as the letters themselves cast light on very interesting problems in the history of the Church, e.g., the Jansenist controversy, the relations of Church and State, and the privileged treatment of Louvain scholars among the parochial clergy. In short, the functioning of the Church in the place and period can be grasped in its living reality through these letters.

MARY HALL QUINLAN

Newton College of the Sacred Heart

Corneille-François de Nelis—18e et dernier évêque d'Anvers (1785-1798) —un évêque humaniste et homme d'action a la fin de l'ancien régime. By W. J. H. Price. (Louvain: E. Nauwelaerts. 1954. Pp. xlii, 381. $7.00.)

This volume is an example of the careful scholarship and wide documentation that we have come to associate with Belgian historiography. Those who have visited the ancient part of the city of Antwerp and have seen its imposing Cathedral of Notre Dame with its forest of columns and its two fine Rubens might be interested in this biography of its eighteenth and last bishop. The story of his episcopate is prefaced by an account of the erection of the diocese in the sixteenth century, which is an interesting illustration of the difficulties faced by the ecclesiastical authorities in effecting a step so obviously necessary for the well-being of the Church, yet rendered so difficult because of the very considerable material interests involved. As so frequently, the possessions of the Church, needed for its spiritual mission, proved a handicap to its fulfillment.

The diocese was flourishing when the learned de Nelis was nominated to the see by the Emperor Joseph II in 1784. The candidate had held important posts, including that of librarian, at his *alma mater,* Louvain, and had been advanced to wealthy benefices through the patronage of the Hapsburgs. His preferment was facilitated by his devotion to the Enlightenment and the considerable service he had rendered the imperial family. In choosing de Nelis, Joseph II confidently expected the nominee would become a strong supporter of his radical ecclesiastical policy. Following other historical precedents, de Nelis became the most formidable foe of the emperor's despotic measures. In defending the rights of the Church, the Bishop of Antwerp drew upon his studies of Belgian history and literature to give a national character to the resistance movement, thus becoming a precursor of Belgian independence. He played a role in the revolt of Brabant and directed his diocese during the stormy periods of Austrian restorations and French invasions. With the second conquest of the provinces by the armies of the French Revolution in 1794, de Nelis went into exile and practical eclipse.

This extremely active personal history reveals considerable information on the condition of the Church in Belgium in the last years of the old regime. De Nelis was a competent administrator and a zealous pastor. From his diary, printed in French translation in an appendix, and from his correspondence it is evident that the vast majority of his clergy were intellectually well equipped in ecclesiastical sciences and morally irreproachable. His fellow bishops were worthy leaders, though generally indifferent to matters which did not directly concern the Church. On the

whole they played a lesser role in public life than many of their contemporaries in the French hierarchy. De Nelis was an exception. He was active in the intellectual currents of the time and was one of the two founders of the Royal Belgian Academy. He was a great champion of the Church in the political field and his social conscience made him particularly concerned with the pauperized masses in his diocese. These concerns justify the claim of his biographer that this relatively neglected figure is a link between the old regime about to expire and the new that would soon be born.

JOSEPH N. MOODY

Cathedral College
New York

German Protestants Face the Social Question. The Conservative Phase, 1815-71. By William O. Shanahan. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 1954. Pp. xii, 434. $6.75.)

This is the first of a projected two-volume work appearing under the auspices of the Committee on International Relations of the University of Notre Dame in its series of International Studies edited by Professor M. A. Fitzsimons. In the preface the author has set as his problem the portrayal, against the background of German national history in the nineteenth century, of the Protestant attempts to cope with the social question. The adjective "German" includes the Swiss element. This study fits well with the author's dominant interest which concerns the vital relation between Christianity and western culture.

The *res gestae* of the social question are lucidly presented by Professor Shanahan. He demonstrates that the private, philanthropic measures of Wichern's "Inner Mission" (social-evangelical), of Wagener, Huber, Stahl, and others were in their totality an inadequate, albeit noble, response to the challenge arising out of the industrial revolution. Presumably the second or companion volume will discuss the relief efforts after 1870 of the German (Protestant) state toward the same social question. Moreover, because the monarchical and republican regimes ultimately failed to establish social tranquility, may it not be said that the stage was thereby set for the appearance of Adolf Hitler and the "extinction" of "Protestantism" as a formative force in most of central Europe? From another point of view the author's study appears as a socio-intellectual mode of history with a religious emphasis. This type of explanation grapples with the principal motivations of human action and, of course,

rightly recognizes, in proper subordination, the various common manifestations of economics and politics in human affairs.

Perhaps it is here that Professor Shanahan has strayed. In his analysis of the various ideas and programs put forth to do something constructive about the loss of the wage-earner from Christianity and his concomitant denigration, he seems to over-present their intellectual and religious content. It would have been better to be equally concerned with the implementation and consequences of the plans for social action. In short, the historical milieu might have been brought out more sharply, as was done in the cases of Bismarck, the political parties—excepting the Social Democrats—and Lassalle who gave political prominence to the social question (p. 338). On the other hand, Mr. Shanahan observed that the neglect and inefficacy of practical measures was the chief weakness in the social-evangelical movement. Hence his proper regard for ideas and programs.

The statement which Sainte-Beuve formulated apropos of footnotes is applicable to Mr. Shanahan's references: "C'est un autre livre d'en bas." The helpful divisions in the select bibliography indicate once more the scholar's endless labors to master his subject. But when the author adverted to Adam's fall and its consequences (p. 348), he perhaps unwittingly employed that historical fact as a "catch-all."

The objective account and appraisal set forth in this book constitute a significant contribution to a better understanding of the efforts and consequent results of the German Protestants, the largest denominational group on the continent, as they faced the social question in their homeland especially after 1848. This volume and the one to follow ought to contribute to a better appreciation of western culture and Christianity.

RAYMOND J. MARAS

Berkeley, California

Politics of Belief in Nineteenth-Century France. By Philip Spencer. (New York: Grove Press. 1954. Pp. 284. $6.00.)

Unavoidably this is a controversial book, owing both to its subject and its point of view. The former is tied closely to many of the major controversies which embroiled the Church in the last century and the latter is unveiled in the author's manifest adherence to the disputed thesis that the Church in France committed in the course of the nineteenth century fateful errors by submitting to the despotism of the Vatican, thus denying its free Gallican past and sacrificing a vigorous, liberalized future. In the process of developing this theme Mr. Spencer's objectivity is so

impaired as to permit the publication of a study that is littered with statements, judgments, and conclusions which are, *mutatis mutandis,* injudicious, incomplete, and inaccurate.

Spencer sets out to examine the careers of three French Catholics, Lacordaire, Veuillot and Michon, and attempts—not unsuccessfully—to bring into focus the three great interrelated and interlocked struggles with each of which one of the protagonists is especially identified. These critical engagements were, in simple terms, those between liberalism (Catholic liberalism or liberal Catholicism, according to one's definition) and the *ancien régime,* between Gallicanism and ultramontanism (more correctly, neo-ultramontanism), and between unchanging dogmatic values and adaptations cut to the winds of scientific discovery and higher criticism (modernism). Sympathetic with Lacordaire's liberal aspirations, Spencer finds that he failed to effect "the emotional adaptation of religion to society . . . and society to religion" (p. 264) because of the inconsistencies, self-contradictions, and unresolved tensions, which inevitably accompanied Lacordaire's uncritical, unanalytical mind and his being a *rara avis* and misfit, a "forward-looking Catholic"! (p. 96). The problem of toleration is associated with the brilliant and influential journalistic career of Louis Veuillot, whose neo-ultramontanism and propaganda methods receive short shrift from the author. Spencer's understandable distaste for Veuillot's noisy, abusive polemics blossoms into the type of intolerance and disrespect for the complete truth which is being condemned in the record of the editor of *l'Univers.* As for the Abbé Michon and his unresolved problem of reconciling faith and reason, Spencer apparently holds that a wide chasm between faith and fact existed and that, but for an undisciplined and unscholarly mind, Michon would have cast off the shackles of the Catholic Church, thus assuring his "intellectual integrity" (p. 264).

Of such conclusions and views is this study composed. As for other personalities, it should be stressed that the portrait of Pius IX which emerges from these pages is a near caricature. To Spencer the pope was basically a vain, obstinate, even vengeful man about whose life and work few mitigating words can be said. At no point does the author imply that Pio Nono had, even in short supply, the humility, wit, and graciousness which more rounded evaluations note. Other equally one-sided character studies are not hard to locate.

Perhaps this harsh appraisal of Pius IX stems from Spencer's apparent lack of appreciation of the acutely critical nature of the challenges hurled at the Church during Pio Nono's pontificate, and his equally apparent failure to comprehend the interrelationship and interdependence of politics and religion in the minds of both the pope and his enemies. If Mr. Spencer were fully aware of the true character of the struggle to win the mind and soul of Europe, perhaps he would not so willingly subscribe

to the dogmatic belief that the "policy of Pius IX towards the modern world" was "singularly inept" (p. 239).

Mr. Spencer's censorious discussion of the *Syllabus of Errors* is another case in point, for it presents a highly inadequate and seriously distorted view of the objectives, character, and form of that document. He neglects to observe that all of the eighty condemned propositions required qualification, that each referred to an allocution, encyclical, or epistle from which it was extracted and without reference to which it could not properly be understood. The celebrated Proposition 80, e.g., which condemned "progress, liberalism and modern civilization," referred to *Jamdudum cernimus* of 1861, an allocution specifically censuring the Piedmontese government's idea of progress and civilization, viz., that identified with the suppression of religious houses, the establishment of a system of secular education, and the general de-Christianization of the state. The embarrassment and consternation which greeted the *Syllabus* were extensive among liberals, but this development is, perhaps, best viewed in the light of an overly literal, unqualified reaction to some of its contents. This Pio Nono himself seemed to underwrite when, in a letter to Falloux, he termed the *Syllabus* "raw meat, needing to be cooked and seasoned," and when he congratulated the great Dupanloup on his interpretative pamphlet. Spencer's partisan presentation leads to the partisan conclusion that the *Syllabus of Errors* was "an enormous blunder, incompetently drafted, based on ignorance, published in pique" (p. 196). This is, indeed, irresponsibility of a high order. It may also be observed that the works of none of the standard authorities on the *Syllabus*—Brigué, Hourat, Aubert, or Quacquarelli—are acknowledged in the bibliography, which is admittedly incomplete.

This book does possess a compensatory side: the narrative style is smooth and enjoyable to read; the insight of its author into French political and intellectual development in the nineteenth century is often acute and always stimulating. Yet its tendency to proliferate sweeping generalizations, impressionistic factual statements, and unbalanced interpretations must be called a disservice to historical scholarship. In fine, Mr. Spencer's sharply pointed anti-clerical needles are guaranteed to disturb even the most placid and impartial reader's equanimity.

RUSSELL E. PLANCK

Seton Hall University

Cardinal Manning. By Shane Leslie. (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1954. Pp. xxiii, 226. $3.75.)

Few prominent figures in history, secular or ecclesiastical, have suffered so abominably at the hands of their biographers as Cardinal Manning.

Purcell started off the process of diminuization of a great man, and Leslie (who some thirty years ago presumed to rescue Manning's reputation) is better known, in this respect at least, for his intentions than for his accomplishments. This new truncated revision is hardly an improvement.

Henry Edward Manning was, ecclesiastically and socially speaking, probably the most powerful English-speaking cardinal in recent history. He dominated the Church scattered through the British Empire and he was highly respected by his American counterpart, James Gibbons of Baltimore. His mind was almost as influential at Downing Street as it was on Vatican Hill. I do not know what it might have been like to live around or under him, particularly if he was displeased, but I like Manning as a historical figure and am impressed with the vigor with which he pursued policies aimed at making the newly arisen Church in England an effective voice for Christ in Britain, and not merely another sect crying in the wilderness.

One of the blights on Manning's career was his alleged mistreatment of Cardinal Newman. The documents show that this mistreatment, if that is what it was, was neither consistent nor intended. Manning did much to protect and foster Newman within the Church at a time when Newman was under severe criticism from conservative Catholics. *Vis-à-vis* Manning, Newman was not infrequently hypersensitive to criticism and in conflict sometimes reacted like a woman. Many of the mediators between the two did more harm than good with their distorted versions of what the other had said or intended. At any rate, it is to the credit of the English Church that in its first half-century of re-establishment it could possess a Manning and a Newman. It needed both of them; one alone would not suffice.

Sir Shane Leslie has the aggravating habit of writing details of history as if the reader knew precisely the background of every situation. He is hopelessly vague in his proper identification of persons and places. He piles unrelated documents one on top of the other, sometimes, it would seem, merely to get them in, and he truncates other letters about which I, for one, would like to know more. I would like to believe that this brilliant writer—for he does frequently dash off paragraphs that are unexcelled for style and grasp of truth—must be pardoned for his poor historical technique. This would be the charitable interpretation. But Leslie has not done all the research on some of the subjects of which he writes that he should have done. The much advertised new material dealing with the American Church, e.g., is nothing more than a series of conclusions and impressions, undocumented and probably drawn from Ellis' *Gibbons*.

As a lover of Manning, I regret to say that the great cardinal will never have the biographer he deserves. Purcell, Strachey, and Leslie have seen to that.

GEORGE A. KELLY

St. Monica's Church
New York

The Tragedy of Silesia, 1945-46. A Documentary Account with a Special Survey of the Archdiocese of Breslau. Compiled and edited by Johannes Kaps. (Munich: "Christ Unterweg." 1952. Pp. 576.)

Historical records concerning the territory of Silesia in eastern Germany date back to the days of the early Roman Empire. In the volume under review Dr. Kaps traces its story from this early period up through the invasion of Russia in 1945. The reader will find in Part I, the first eighty-five pages, a comprehensive summary of the many tragic episodes in the history of Silesia. Numerous incidents are related which partly explain the savage brutality perpetrated in Silesia in the days of the Third Reich and the Russian invasion, "justified in the name of Fanatic Nationalism"!

Four-fifths of the book consists of a compilation of documents, eyewitness evidence of the atrocities in the brutal expulsion of millions of Silesians, first by the Russians and then by the Polish Bolsheviks. The general report is followed by a detailed account of the pillaging, looting, and murdering of the people in the various districts or parishes of Upper, Central, and Lower Silesia. The terrorism found in the six concentration camps follows the pattern established in the Third Reich. There is a special survey of the Archdiocese of Breslau. Bishops and priests furnished much of the evidence found in the latter section. A set of maps in the appendix enables the reader to follow the details of the Russian military campaigns of 1945 written by a competent military authority.

Introducing the section on documents, the editor states that his aim "is not to stir up hatred but to pave the way for a fair and just peace . . . to serve the cause of history and truth and to make all those concerned realize that the fetters of injustice must be burst asunder." Dr. Kaps assures us that the authenticity of these documents, though unsigned, cannot be doubted. This reviewer found the perusal of them frightfully gruesome, surely a testimony of the editor's warning to all mankind, "that a world which is godless and lawless scorns men's inalienable rights." The Catholic bishops of West Germany write the foreword,

stating that they can no longer remain silent about the terrible tragedy in which seeds of hatred are being sown. These will inevitably cause more evil.

The book ends with an epilogue by the editor pleading that in the interests of a lasting peace Silesia be restored to the East German refugees.

SISTER CLAIRE LYNCH

St. Bede's Priory
Eau Claire

AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

The Anglican Church in New Jersey. By Nelson R. Burr. (Philadelphia: Church Historical Society. 1954. Pp. xvi, 768. $10.00.)

Nelson R. Burr is an able historian, as any reader of his *Education in New Jersey, 1830-1871* (Princeton, 1942) can testify. While writing the above work his interest in the S. P. G. schools was awakened, and was further increased while he helped to supervise the Historical Record Survey's inventory of ecclesiastical archives in the State of New Jersey. This excellent volume represents the culmination of his findings.

Both the clergy and the laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church have reason to applaud Burr's performance, which can only serve to excite the admiration of all those familiar with the peculiar difficulties involved in the writing of ecclesiastical history. Many writers in this area of study might well take to heart and emulate the author's refusal to make an apology because he does not "set the Church, together with its ministers and its people, upon a pedestal of perfection" (p. xii). He relates, happily, "not only their gains, successes and virtues, but also their losses, failures, and sins, their weaknesses as well as their courage and strength" (*ibid.*).

The colonial Grants and Concessions to Berkeley and Carteret imposed no religious tests, and this ideal was not violated until 1698, when the people's representatives in the Law of Rights decreed intolerance of Roman Catholicism. Only in 1844 did New Jersey revive the spirit of proprietary times by restoring full religious liberty. The colony became, in fact, a prototype of the present American religious diversity, and the early strength of the dissenting groups largely explains the slow progress of the Anglican Church herein before the Revolution. By 1700 the religious and moral climate of New Jersey was already becoming fixed, and it was evangelistic, not liturgical. The very zeal of a layman like

Colonel Lewis Morris probably reflected an uneasy consciousness that he belonged to a tiny Anglican minority, surrounded by suspicion. The "debaucht and ignorant" youth of the Jerseys appalled him.

After the founding of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, however, the status and prospects of colonial Anglicanism improved considerably. By 1740 parent parishes were established at Burlington, Salem, Elizabeth, and Perth Amboy, and the Anglican communion flourished despite the evangelism of Whitfield and the Great Awakening. The Revolution brought a setback, but the Protestant Episcopal Church in New Jersey exhibited a steady, if not a spectacular growth from that day to our own.

We see heroism and cowardice, idealism and chicanery, in every chapter. In short, it is a very "human" portrait that the author paints. The reader is sometimes annoyed by Burr's discursiveness, and by his constant references throughout the text to the very good biographical sketches in the appendix. These defects, however, are relatively slight, in a work that is a real contribution to New Jerseyana and to ecclesiastical historiography in general.

GEORGE L. A. REILLY

Seton Hall University

Church-State Relationships in Education in Connecticut, 1633-1953. By Sister Mary Paul Mason. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1953. Pp. xxi, 324. $3.50.)

This work is a doctoral dissertation done at the Catholic University of America. It covers a period of three and one-fifth centuries of evolution from the closest possible union of Church and State and a complete denial of religious freedom, to a total absence of "an establishment of religion," and as complete freedom of religion as exists anywhere today. Further, it presents this social history in specific detail, with elaborate documentation, but with an organization and in a style that makes it an interesting, readable narrative, as well as a ready reference book of the first order. It deserves a place on the shelf with the best works on the relation of government to religion in the libraries of all who are interested in this timely and timeless problem.

For the nearly two centuries from the first settlements in Connecticut to the disestablishment in the constitution of 1818, the Congregational Church dominated the political and cultural life of this state, even though not formally established in law until 1709; and its power and privilege faded slowly through six or seven decades immediately following consti-

tutional disestablishment. The ministers controlled the schools and the school meetings were regularly held in the Congregational meeting houses. Every taxpayer helped to support the established church, until attempts to gain exemption which began in 1712 brought release to the Episcopalians in 1727, and to the Quakers and Baptists in 1729. In 1770 all "Christian Protestants" were freed from compulsory attendance at the Congregational churches, and in 1770 a group of somewhat non-conforming Congregationalists—who, of course, claimed to be the only true Congregationalists—were granted by the general court (the legislature) the same tax freedom which other Protestant groups had won some fifty years before.

Yale, chartered as a "collegiate school" in 1701 to fit youth "for public employment both in church and civil state," was for many decades a strictly Congregational college. Its original trustees were all ministers of the established church, and all presidents were ordained Congregational ministers up to the end of the nineteenth century. There were none but Congregationalists on the Yale faculty up to 1823, and in the 1740's a student was expelled for saying that a college preacher "prayed with a lack of fervor," and two others for attending a "Separatist" church in Canterbury at the request of their parents in a period of college recess. In the beginning Yale was hardly distinguishable from the later developed state universities; it received state financial aid until 1831, though the regular annual grant of state funds ended in 1753.

The Episcopalians were the first to gain some degree of freedom for religious education outside the established church. They received a charter for an academy in Cheshire in 1801, and permission to raise by lottery in 1802 a fund of $15,000 for the academy. In 1804 they began to petition for a charter for a college, and after repeated refusals were granted one for Washington College (now Trinity) in 1823. The Methodists won a charter for Wesleyan College at Middletown in 1831.

The common or public schools of the state were apparently not satisfactory to a large portion of the population, and private schools spread rapidly until there were 288 private schools in Connecticut by 1860. Henry Barnard was the active leader in educational reform in Connecticut from 1838 to 1867 when he became United States Commissioner of Education. He was a strong believer in religion in the public schools in furthering character development and moral training; in 1865 he was opposed to the compulsory use of the Protestant Bible by Catholic children in the public schools.

Throughout the first two centuries covered by this study the Catholic population of Connecticut was too small to have any discoverable effect on either religion or formal education. As late as 1835 there were only

720 Catholics in a population of 297,000. From 1835 to 1850 immigration, which came largely from Ireland, tremendously increased the number of Catholics in Connecticut. By 1842 there were 26,689 Irish immigrants living in Connecticut; most of them were Catholics and here as elsewhere in America in this period of Maria Monk and the Know-Nothing Party the "Irish Catholics" were the subjects of severe intolerance. Here as elsewhere, too, the dying out of racial and religious intolerance in the the last century has been pretty thorough.

The author, as is the case with many commentators, treats the constitutional disestablishment of the Congregational Church in 1818 as a provision for general freedom and equality in religion. This is not quite accurate. The Connecticut constitution then, as now in 1955, provides for "the same and equal powers, rights and privileges" only to "every society or denomination of Christians." However, since religious and political freedom and equality are never either fully achieved or prevented by words in constitutions, the development of these social virtues has progressed in this state in the last century probably as thoroughly as would have been possible under any constitutional provision. Even so, in the spring of 1955 the committees on constitutional amendments of the Connecticut house and senate have before them a recommendation that the constitution be amended to square with the facts, and so provide for freedom and equality for every religious society or denomination.

JAMES M. O'NEILL

Lakeville, Connecticut

Confusion Twice Confounded. The First Amendment and the Supreme Court. An Historical Study. By Joseph H. Brady. (South Orange: Seton Hall University Press. 1954. Pp. 192. $3.00.)

Not primarily a history, this is an impressive exemplification of the value of history and a magnificent application of historical criticism applied to the current Church-State controversy.

Lucid and concise, it is a devastating criticism of the Everson (February 10, 1947) and the McCollum (March 8, 1948) decisions. About the only important point on which the author and the Supreme Court seem to agree is that these cases transcend the question of bus fares and of release time, and that they strike at the root of constitutional interpretation of Church-State relationships. That the Constitution is what the Supreme Court says it is becomes a real threat when the members employ arbitrary dicta and their "own prepossessions." Or, as Monsignor Brady warns,

"we will be more alert to the danger in which we live when the highest court in the land no longer bases its decisions on the provisions of our Constitution." These are strong words, but sprinkled throughout the book appear such jolting expressions as "dangerously unjudicial," "unjustified distortion of language," "unfounded assertion," "not a shadow of truth," "this welter of incredible inconsistency, of bad history, of worse logic, of inaccurate citation, of gross distortion."

The central theme revolves about the meaning of the first ten words of the First Amendment. The author shows that the notion of "separation of church and state" could by no rule of logic or history have stemmed from them. He analyzes the "twofold confusion" of the court, viz., "the real relationship in the United States between religion and government," and "the origin of the alleged 'separation of church and state'." One may wonder why Monsignor Brady devoted seventy-five pages to the Everson Case, and less than thirty-five to the controversial McCollum decision. He explains that "the Everson opinions are almost the sole foundation" for the McCollum ruling, and that even though the court arrived "at the proper decision . . . we find a mass of dubious history, inaccurate quotations, and false reasoning." Not only that, but "In this decision [Everson] the Court has done itself great dishonor. It has done the country a great disservice. It has laid the foundation for still greater harm."

Forty pages are required to pommel the dissenting opinion written by Justice Rutledge, which is "a lengthy document, decorated with all the apparatus of sound scholarship, buttressed with numerous citations and references." The author reduces this to historical rubble and concludes, "How poor a foundation it is, we now know." The book contains extensive repetition, which the author admits. Although this tends to impair the literary value, it certainly enhances the educational and informative aspects.

GEORGE N. KRAMER

Loyola University
Los Angeles

The Long Road of Father Serra. By Theodore Maynard. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc. 1954. Pp. xvii, 297. $3.50.)

Francisco Palóu's life of Fray Junípero Serra stressed the period from 1769 to 1784, which causes some to forget that Fray Junípero did not reach California until he was in his middle fifties, and a considerable body of experience already lay behind him. Theodore Maynard has attempted to redress the balance by presenting a full biography of Father Serra.

A little less than half of the present text narrates Serra's life from his birth at Petra, Mallorca, on November 24, 1713, to his departure for Lower California in 1767. The book is introduced by an engaging description of the island of Mallorca and of the life and customs of the people from whom Serra sprang. Then follows the account of his birth, early education, entrance into the Franciscan Order, and ordination to the priesthood in 1738. From this date until 1749, Serra was a teacher of at least local fame, first as professor of philosophy in the Franciscan convent in Palma, then occupying the chair of Scotistic philosophy at the Lullian University. He also acquired some renown as a preacher while in the latter charge. This career was abandoned at its height when he volunteered for the missions of Mexico, whose northern frontier was to be greatly expanded from 1750 to 1767. In 1750 Fray Junipero was assigned to the Pame Indians of the Sierra Gorda. Here he remained for ten years, being president of the San Fernando College missions for most of the period. The years from 1759 to 1767 were spent in preaching missions to the faithful in the towns and cities of central Mexico.

The suppression of the Jesuits in 1767, and the necessity of staffing their missions, brought Serra a new appointment as president of the Lower California missions. But he was scarcely settled before it was decided to occupy Upper California. From this point Mr. Maynard compresses a great deal of information on the efforts to establish a foundation and the difficulties of maintaining it before the Anza overland expeditions resulted in assuring supplies and security. This account is interspersed with the summary narration of Serra's struggles with commandants and governors, the founding of nine missions, and, finally, his death at Carmel on August 28, 1784. An epilogue very briefly indicates later developments, devoting more space to the secularization of the missions and the fate of their Indians.

The presentation is a popular one, but Mr. Maynard has managed to be accurate in outlining some very complicated situations. Casual references in the text show that the author has canvassed all pertinent literature, especially the published preliminary studies of Father Maynard Geiger, O.F.M. The first part of the book contains a few inconsequential errors, and the California portion some misleading statements, if not actual errors. Yet even the latter are minor. The presence of a notable blunder in the blurb on the dust jacket, and occasional evidence of careless proof-reading, leads one to suspect that the fault may be with the publisher's editors. The over-all impression of the biography is that of an attractive work which will serve until a definitive biography is available.

MICHAEL B. MCCLOSKEY

Siena College

John Carroll of Baltimore, Founder of the American Catholic Hierarchy. By Annabelle M. Melville. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1955. Pp. ix, 338. $4.50.)

The appearance of Mrs. Melville's biography of Archbishop Carroll at the very time when Monsignor Guilday's *Life and Times of John Carroll* (New York, 1922), long out of print, has once more become available, gives an opportunity to compare these two works. The older work is far more ambitious in its aim. It gives not only the life of the founder of the American hierarchy, but also a comprehensive history of the Catholic Church in the United States in the latter part of the colonial period and in the early days of the new Republic. The newer work is much more modest in its aim, confining itself to the life of Carroll and to the events immediately pertinent thereto. Guilday enriched, and one feels sometimes overburdened, his text with lengthy quotations from numerous documents. Mrs. Melville is much more selective in her use of documents, but she has omitted nothing necessary to her purpose. The result is that she gives us in a volume of reasonable size a serious, thorough, well-documented, well-ordered, and well-written biography of the first Archbishop of Baltimore and the first bishop of the United States.

In her preface the author acknowledges her debt to the work of Guilday. But in the years following the publication of that well-known work, sources unavailable to Guilday have been opened, and Mrs. Melville has not hesitated to differ from him and other older historians when the sources warrant such divergence. Her most serious disagreement with her predecessors occurs in her treatment of the supposed French attempt to interfere in the establishment of the American hierarchy—an attempt which came to naught, but to which Guilday devoted a whole chapter. Mrs. Melville, following Father Jules A. Baisnée's *France and the Establishment of the American Catholic Hierarchy. The Myth of French Interference, 1783-1784* (Baltimore, 1934), holds that the views of Guilday and of John Gilmary Shea on this subject are no longer tenable.

The author also indicates in her preface that there are other interpretations of Guilday which later research has shown to be unfounded, and states that he has made errors in factual details. One could wish that in her text the author had always made clear where Guilday is being corrected, or that her publishers had given the reader a better opportunity to note divergences and corrections by placing the footnotes where they belong, instead of resorting to the clumsy device of grouping them all at the end of the volume.

The author is at her best in passages of straight, historical narrative which naturally constitute the bulk of her work. One feels she is weakest

where she makes concessions to modern popular, biographical style. It is unfortunate that one of her deepest bows in that direction occurs in her opening paragraph which hardly seems to set the tone for the excellent pages which follow. The little flights of fancy, by which today's popular biographers endeavor to give an air of realism to their narrative, actually tend to destroy the atmosphere of reality in serious works of biography. Nor is the author always happy in her value judgments. Thus, at the end of her account of the unpleasant Whelan-Nugent episode she tells us that Carroll had no alternative but to allow Nugent to remain and minister to the flock of New York (p. 82). Yet in the next paragraph she remarks that a narrower or less courageous man might have done otherwise. No one who reads this biography of Carroll will doubt his greatness or his courage, but the use of this incident to illustrate qualities of greatness and courage hardly seems apt.

These, however, are minor defects in a serious work of real merit. The author has produced a true, pleasing, full-length portrait of the man who more than any other was responsible for the Catholic Church in the United States as we know it today. She has pictured him as an able churchman, who by his industry, his patience, his good judgment, his firmness, and his complete loyalty to Rome laid securely the foundation of the American Church. She has also pictured Carroll as a true patriot who, sincerely sympathetic with the genius of the American Republic, established those beneficial traditions of the Church-State relations carried forward by England, Hughes, Ireland, Gibbons, and other leading Catholic churchmen of this country. The general reader will find here an interesting and carefully executed biography of the founder of the American hierarchy. The student of the history of the Church will find this volume a valuable contribution to the growing body of American Catholic historical literature, and a needed complement to the excellent but bulky work of Guilday.

✠ Lawrence J. Shehan
Bishop of Bridgeport

California's Pioneer Sister of Mercy, Mother Mary Baptist Russell. By Sister Mary Aurelia McArdle. (Fresno: Academy Library Guild. 1954. Pp. 204. $6.00.)

California takes great pride in its Spanish foundations, and no one is more celebrated than Padre Junípero Serra, the first president of the California missions. What is usually overlooked is the fact that with the secularization of the missions in 1834 and the collapse of the Mexican rule in California in 1846, the Catholic Church turned to other priests

than the Franciscans and to other lands than Spain for religious to build the nascent Church in California. No single nation has contributed as much to the growth of the Church in California as Ireland. Yet the story of her sons and daughters who were California's pioneers for the Church has been left to lie in silence, perhaps for simple neglect of scholarship or scholars, perhaps in the thought that the Spanish missions adequately accounted for the foundation and prosperity in the California Church.

This volume brings the sparkling story of a great Sister of Mercy who came from Kinsale in Ireland to San Francisco in 1854, even as a fellow nun, Sister Francis Bridgeman, was in the Crimea with Florence Nightingale as nurse. This mother superior led an intrepid group of sisters through dangers of varied kinds. The opposition and bigotry of small-minded men in the Gold Rush aftermath, the fight against poverty and disease, the care of the sick and the spiritual consolation of prisoners, and even the preparation of condemned men to meet their fate on the gallows—all these events culled from original sources make interesting and fascinating reading.

The story further suggests that other unsung heroes, e.g., members of the diocesan clergy, particularly Father Hugh Gallagher, and other priests and religious have yet to receive the attention that their lives merited. This volume has initiated a trend which will, we hope, tell the story of California's Catholic pioneers, and which will contradict Chesterton's description of such pioneers when he said, "The real history of a Catholic pioneer has been the same; to be first and be forgotten." But Chesterton's remark will remain appropriate, insofar as California Catholicism is concerned, until other biographies such as the work of Sister Mary Aurelia are written. Fortunately, Mother Baptist Russell will not suffer such a fate.

MARK J. HURLEY

Bishop O'Dowd High School
Oakland

History of the Diocese of Covington. By Paul E. Ryan. (Covington: Chancery, 1140 Madison Avenue. 1954. Pp. 1054.)

The Diocese of Covington, consisting of the eastern part of Kentucky, was established on July 29, 1853, as a suffragan see of Cincinnati with George A. Carrell, S.J., President of St. Xavier College, Cincinnati, as its first bishop. In the foreword to this volume the sixth and present Bishop of Covington, the Most Reverend William T. Mulloy, states that

the work was a major part of the centennial commemoration in 1953, and of the author he says that "few men are better students of local Church history than he." Father Ryan modestly claims that he did his work solely "with the hope that the many young students of the Diocese . . . will turn their attention and talents to the task of building up the Diocesan Archives . . ." in order that a definitive history may ultimately be written.

The fifteen chapters are divided into three parts. The first three chapters treat of the early history of the Church in the area when it was part of the Dioceses of Quebec, Baltimore, and Bardstown-Louisville. The next six chapters are devoted to the administrations of the six bishops who have ruled the see. Then follow chapters entitled "The Kentucky Mountain Apostolate," "Religious Institutions in the Diocese," "Development of Parishes in the Diocese," "The Priesthood of the Diocese of Covington," and "The Catholic Press in the Diocese." Bishop Carrell had but six priests to minister to about 10,000 Catholics when he took charge of his jurisdiction. The first thirty years were guided by two ordinaries—Carrell and Augustus M. Toebbe, and the usual difficulties of the organization of a new diocese shortened their lives. The period of the third bishop, Camillus P. Maes, covered the next thirty years. Building upon the foundation laid by his predecessors, Bishop Maes made real progress, although he is better known to American Catholic historians, perhaps, for his biography of the famed Kentucky missionary, Charles Nerinckx. The first native son to be appointed to the See of Covington was Ferdinand Brossart, who had ruled only seven years when he was forced to resign in March, 1923, because of ill health. The fifth ordinary, Francis W. Howard of Columbus, Ohio, was well known for the leading part he played in the National Catholic Educational Association both before and after his consecration. The present bishop has been especially prominent in the rural life movement and in Catholic education.

The eighty-one pages of footnotes in this work reveal that Father Ryan made good use of all the available sources. However, the book is overly heavy and would have benefited from being reduced greatly in size. In this respect *The Catholic Church in Detroit, 1701-1888* (Detroit, 1951) by George Paré might well be used as a model for diocesan historians.

J. Herman Schauinger

College of St. Thomas

History of St. Meinrad Archabbey, 1854-1954. By Albert Kleber, O.S.B. (St. Meinrad: Grail Publications. 1954. Pp. xii, 540. $7.50.)

Anyone acquainted with the important contribution of St. Meinrad's Abbey to the religious and cultural history of southern Indiana will

welcome this account of the foundation and growth of the abbey. And those who are acquainted with the patient scholarship of the author will know that nothing has entered the book that cannot be substantiated by careful research. Father Kleber begins his account with a brief history of the mother monastery at Einsiedeln in Switzerland and of the saint whose name the Indiana monastery bears. The account of the two explorers reminds the reader, perhaps intentionally, of the two spies sent ahead by Moses to gather information about the Promised Land. In this case the explorers came at the request of a great missionary in his own right, Father Joseph Kundek, and into a countryside that was in what might be called the final stages of pioneering. Nevertheless, there are many elements in the story of the monastery that resemble closely the account of the early Benedictine monasteries of western Europe. There are many similarities between the story of these Benedictines and those of the American foundations of other communities, especially the occasional misunderstandings between European superiors and American subjects about financial matters, the unruly subject who appeals to a distant superior, the difficulty of recruitment, and the adaptations to the local scene. Even the tragic fire of 1887, despite its completeness, has its parallels in most of the histories of most religious communities in the United States. But there are several matters which are definitely Benedictine, particularly the devotion to the public recitation of the divine office, the strict adherence to the Benedictine rule, and the insistence on the spiritual work of the community. The attempt to adopt the Roman breviary is an interesting interlude.

Father Kleber has added many human stories that make this an account of men and not of angels. There are certain limitations to the book as a whole which are of interest. The account of Abbot Martin Marty in the Dakotas seems at times a separate story and a departure from the purposes of the St. Meinrad foundation, although the story is well told and is a real contribution to the history of the near Northwest. Certain elements of the history might have been stressed a bit more, such as the Benedictines' devotion to study. Father Kleber gives us surprisingly little about the educational history of the abbey and college; in contrast, he has told us of many missionary journeys and of many parishes cared for by the monks. Here again one sees a repetition of the old monasteries on the frontier, but while the service to the bishop and the diocese was great, there must have been more of the tradition of the monastic school. Likewise while Father Kleber has told us the story of a clerical establishment whose services were priestly, and to a great extent for priests, there were many points of contact with the faithful. Perhaps Father Kleber's own modesty has prevailed, but one

would like to read more about the influence of the monastery and the monks on the faithful of the Diocese of Vincennes and the later Archdiocese of Indianapolis which has, indeed, been wide and strong.

THOMAS T. MCAVOY

University of Notre Dame

A History of St. Ignatius Mission. By William L. Davis, S.J. (Spokane: Gonzaga University. 1954. Pp. x, 147. $2.00.)

An implied request for this history came from the Jesuit historian, Gilbert J. Garraghan, in his declaration that "the most important of the missions opened by the Society of Jesus among the Rocky Mountain tribes was to be St. Ignatius" (*Jesuits of the Middle United States*, II, 304). Inasmuch as the spiritual sons of Loyola had the care of this Indian center since its initial founding in 1845, it was fitting for a member of the society to write the story.

Good judgment has been shown in the quotation of the praise by Dr. George Suckley for the work of the Jesuit brothers in 1853, a year before this mission was transferred to its present site in western Montana. The location is marked on the one map of the entire Northwest, but more detailed cartographs would have served to place the rivers, valleys, and mountain passes frequently mentioned in the text. Suckley's description has long been available because of its inclusion in a House report of the 33rd Congress. Not so familiar was the translation, given in an appendix, of the impressions of a visitor of 1883 and then printed in a Munich (Germany) newspaper. The contemporary praise of the missionaries by a non-Catholic observer from across the seas deserved the space accorded it.

Should this paper-bound edition be reprinted, the following corrections might be made. More uniformity in capitalization would remove an irritant to the reader, e.g., "fathers and brothers" (p. 4), "Fathers and Brothers" (p. 12); "confederated tribes" (p. 109), "Confederated tribes" (p. 110). "Thirty Gros Ventre girls" (p. 48) is somewhat infelicitous. The vital part taken by the American Protective Association in securing the curtailment and ultimate cessation of federal appropriations for sectarian Indian schools just prior to 1900 might be added to the account herein given (p. 57). And while Oregon City (now Portland) is the second oldest archdiocese within the present United States, Francis Norbert Blanchet actually was consecrated bishop in 1845, not becoming a metropolitan until the following year. Likewise, Modeste Demers was elevated

to the episcopacy in 1847, not 1846 (p. 2). There are four other appendices in addition to the one mentioned, one picture of the mission as it was in 1885, and an index of names.

PETER J. RAHILL

Saint Louis University

Sacred Heart in Bloomfield. By George L. A. Reilly. (Bloomfield: Sacred Heart Rectory. 1953. Pp. 224. $3.00.)

Writing on the occasion of the diamond jubilee of Sacred Heart Parish in Bloomfield, New Jersey, the author has presented a vivid and very readable account of the parish. As a member of the Department of Social Studies at nearby Seton Hall University, Mr. Reilly has made careful use of the historical records and newspapers in writing his book. He shows a fine sense of perspective in his planning, for he touches upon the early history of Bloomfield before and after the American Revolution in a brief but artful fashion. This is followed by a short account of early Catholic developments in what is now the Archdiocese of Newark. The sense of continuity in New Jersey history is well kept by his history of the founding of the town of Newark and the subsequent colonization of Bloomfield by thrifty Dutch farmers and by second generation descendants of Puritans seeking to escape from the chilly atmosphere of the New England theocracy.

With the coming of the Morris Canal from Easton, Pennsylvania, to Newark in 1824, and its later extension to Jersey City, we find the beginning of the age of expansion for Bloomfield and the neighboring towns of Belleville and Montclair. Side by side with this expansion and with the building of the railroads later, the Catholic population began to grow. These hardy immigrants, chiefly from Ireland, found a broad sense of toleration in the New Jersey towns and quickly developed into a vigorous community of Catholic laymen. Tended first by the priests from St. Peter's in New York, at a time when Newark was part of the Diocese of New York, the faith spread so rapidly that by 1853 Pius IX appointed James Roosevelt Bayley as first Bishop of Newark. From that time onward, under his dynamic leadership, the youthful diocese grew almost miraculously. In the spring of 1878, Bishop Michael A. Corrigan, later to be Archbishop of New York and the center of many controversies, offered a plan for a parish in Bloomfield. The Catholic leaders immediately made their plans for a rectory and a church. They received their first resident pastor with a sincere and devout enthusiasm.

The parish has had three pastors in its seventy-five years, and Mr. Reilly gives us an intimate insight into their ideals, their problems, and their achievements. The active and zealous spirit of Father Nardiello, who built the first church and school, set a tone for the future history of Sacred Heart of Bloomfield. His earnestness and devotion to the parish has carried on through the days of Monsignor Donovan and up to the present time. Monsignor Thomas F. Burke has very recently completed extensive renovation on the church, and it is now one of the beautiful churches in the archdiocese, a splendid tribute to his unselfish labors and to the devout laity of Sacred Heart Parish.

This book is a model for the authors of parish histories. It is fair, scholarly, and concise, and offers a fine treatment of this phase of the history of the Archdiocese of Newark. The work is well documented and contains a splendid bibliography. Better still, it is pleasant reading, for the author has an easy flowing style that is most compatible with good scholarship.

AIDAN C. MCMULLEN

St. Peter's College
Jersey City

The Life of John J. Keane, Educator and Archbishop, 1839-1918. By Patrick Henry Ahern. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1955. Pp. xi, 396. $6.50.)

This volume might very appropriately be called biography number three in a trilogy of biographies of distinguished American Catholic ecclesiastics, who, as contemporaries, worked together and in major matters saw eye to eye with one another during the final decades of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth. Through their closely united efforts these prelates influenced the national course of the American Church more than any trio of churchmen before or since their time. The first biography of this trilogy was the two-volume work of John Tracy Ellis, *The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons* (Milwaukee, 1952), the second, that of *The Life of Archbishop John Ireland* (New York, 1953), by James H. Moynihan, and the third, the work under review.

It is strangely curious for the reviewer, who was confirmed by Archbishop Keane, sent to his friend John Ireland's St. Paul Seminary by him, and who knew him fairly well up to the time of his death, to read the envisionment of Keane, particularly in his Dubuque years, from the pen of an admirer who never saw him in real life. It is a strange, somewhat *outré* picture of the great churchman, and still, it must be admitted, that with what sources Dr. Ahern had to draw upon for

Keane's later years he traced about as fair and accurate a portrait as could humanly be done at the present time. For us who as young men heard on state occasions, when the archbishops were still in their prime, the classic utterances from the peculiarly hoarse voice of John Ireland and the spirited orations from the ringing voice of John Joseph Keane, no pen can adequately describe their grandiloquence or the effect on their audiences.

That part of Archbishop Keane's life in which he performed his greatest services for the Church in the United States was the period of his leadership in the creation and firm establishment of the Catholic University of America, and this period forms the most interesting part of his biography. The author's masterly craftsmanship of this section was due probably to his previous scholarly work, *The Catholic University of America. The Rectorship of John J. Keane, 1887-1896* (Washington, 1949), and here he shows Keane, without university training himself, as a giant of Catholic courage and culture. But with his transfer to Rome, the impact of Keane's energy, genius, and inspiring oratory on subsequent events and affairs of the American Church waned rapidly almost to the vanishing point. The author valiantly poses Keane as a great ecclesiastic who was unfortunately misunderstood, especially at Rome. But the facts which he perforce and honestly includes tell a different story: a bishop given to a type of liberalism which even then was suspect and considering all who differed with him as arch-conservatives, a distinguished churchman with a partisan outlook on grave national questions instead of an objective one.

This conclusion can be buttressed from the sidelights on Keane in Ellis' and Moynihan's works on Gibbons and Ireland respectively, and in Colman J. Barry's *The Catholic Church and German Americans* (Milwaukee, 1953). During a tempestuous decade Keane's admiration and friendship for Ireland may have drawn him into a sea of problems beyond his depth where his somewhat naive idealism was his undoing—a predicament which Father Ahern permits Archbishop Robert Seton to describe quite aptly in a diary entry of 1905: "He [Keane] remains still the same man *in nubibus;* seeing certain things (the University for example) & certain persons (Msgr. O'Connell, rector, for example) always *couleur de rose.* He is lacking in wisdom."

As ordinary of the Archdiocese of Dubuque, Keane's administration was felicitous and holy, if not quite so prosperously effective as that of his successor, James John Keane, but here again his crusading idealism almost overreached itself. The staunchly Catholic see city of Dubuque was probably neither so wicked nor so sodden as Keane's biographer paints it, or those of us who participated in the archbishop's vigorous and, in the end, futile temperance crusades then imagined it.

Father Ahern's volume is especially valuable in that it fills in some of the lacunae of an important and hectic period in the history of the American Church. The work is exhaustive and conscientiously fashioned. It is to be regretted that the reverse side of the medallion of the three so-called "liberal" churchmen, Gibbons, Ireland, and Keane, has not been completed. True, we have Frederick J. Zwierlein's volumes on McQuaid and the letters of Archbishop Corrigan, and recently Dorothy Wayman gives a "conservative" slant on the "Americanism" question in her *Cardinal O'Connell of Boston* (New York, 1955) but the appearance of definitive biographies of such other indomitable churchmen, e.g., Michael A. Corrigan of New York and Sebastian G. Messmer of Milwaukee, would be appreciated by all students of American Catholic history.

MATHIAS M. HOFFMAN

St. Francis Xavier Church
Dyersville, Iowa

Cardinal O'Connell of Boston. A Biography of William Henry O'Connell. 1859-1944. By Dorothy G. Wayman. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Young. 1955. Pp. xii, 308. $4.00.)

The late Cardinal O'Connell was too positive a man to escape criticism during his lifetime, and, generally speaking, too Olympian to be bothered by it. Even for years before he died, he was already a fabulous personage. It is of the very nature of fables, however, to exaggerate both the talents and shortcomings of their subjects. When a fabled public figure is by nature reticent about his own affairs, one must usually wait until after his death to obtain information on the more intimate facets of his personality.

Since the full data on the career of William Henry O'Connell are not yet available, and since we are still a little too close to him to give us the proper perspective, the time for his definitive biography has not yet arrived. It is not too early, nevertheless, for a popular biography of the sort which Mrs. Wayman has sought to provide. Popular biographies can, in fact, contribute substantially towards definitive biographies by stimulating interest and preserving material which might otherwise be lost.

Even those who have a fair acquaintance with Cardinal O'Connell's career will find much that is new, or long forgotten, in these pages—much that proves beyond doubt the cardinal's fine administrative ability, his diplomatic talents, his staunch Catholicism, and his fervent *Romanità*.

The author has succeeded in penetrating his sternness, too; and she reveals many winning traits: devotion to family, loyalty to friends, great secret charities, and a fundamentally humble piety which was proof even against his most painful trial. It is merely a sketch which Mrs. Wayman presents. But it is a good sketch, sympathetic, yet honest.

Although the biographer has obliged us by citing her sources—most of them friendly by nature—the oral sources themselves are sometimes inexact, and even the written ones sometimes misread. This is, perhaps, especially true in the portions dealing with the North American College. Wrong periods are assigned, e.g., for the alteration of the uniform (pp. 25, 295) and the introduction of the Marian aspiration (p. 74). The necessarily brief accounts of the death of the rector, Monsignor Louis E. Hostlot, and of the attempted confiscation of the college in 1884 (p. 27) are likewise inexact. There are also some misspellings, particularly of names, which a more careful proof-reading might have eliminated.

Although the biography is relatively short, it is unfortunate that the publisher issued it without an index.

ROBERT F. MCNAMARA

St. Bernard's Seminary

GENERAL HISTORY

God, Man and the Universe. Edited with an Introduction by Jacques de Bivort de la Saudée. (New York: P. J. Kenedy and Sons. 1954. Pp. xvi, 421. $7.50.)

In her recent *Faith and Freedom* Barbara Ward observes of the Marxian view of history that it is a formulation which makes a show of imitating the methods of science, but without its caution. Controls and laboratory experiments are essential to reliable scientific data. Yet the "hectic" method of the Marxists eliminates that rough nine-tenths of the raw data on humanity which can neither be weighed nor measured, and, on the basis of a residue of material factors, produces such a slapdash canvas as to make even the careless scientist blush. The communist uses of history and economics are fairly well known. What may not be so familiar is the full-scale adoption of a rather creaky continental rationalism in explanation of all that is claimed as revealed religion. Enlistment is likewise made of astrophysics and physical anthropology as somehow destructive of all non-materialist claims about the universe and man's place in it.

It should be seen immediately that the identification of a proposition, either as a requirement of Catholic faith or as something historically or scientifically incontrovertible when, in fact, such is not the case, is a fruitful source of intellectual clash when the question is of man, his origin and destiny. The full materialistic commitment involves a closed system, of course. No one can be forced to take the metaphysical leap beyond a self-contained universe, any more than he need flee simple mechanism or determinism once he has given himself to the notion of spirit as pure gratuity. The distinct possibility exists, however, of laying bare what were long supposed to be conflicts as lacking in any genuine antinomy. There is the simpler preparatory service of establishing religion as less committed, or science as less conclusive, or certain doctrinaire materialists as less scientific and occasionally less honest, than had been supposed. Nor is the unmasking all in the one direction, for the popular apologist for Christianity sometimes has his tale of ignorance and mental intimidating to declare.

In 1937 the collection of essays basic to this one first appeared. It received major revision in 1950. To the present English language version (British in editorship and manufacture), Ernest Messenger and Douglas Woodruff have contributed fresh chapters. Taken together, the sixteen pieces make a highly successful attempt—so far as the outsider can judge—to remove from the atheist mind obstacles to faith. Almost certainly the believing readership will preponderate, but since intellectual obscurities are not a few in these matters, even for them, the secondary purposes of the book should be equally well served.

Albert Dondeyne, professor of philosophy in the University of Louvain, contributes a most suggestive essay on "The Existence of God and Contemporary Materialism." Somewhere in mid-course it is deflected from its earlier philosophical purpose to a consideration of mystical experience of God, and the miraculous elements in the life of Christ and some modern saints. Metaphysics for the author is not here in the mold of the *quinque viae*. He demands from materialism an adequate explanation for man's sense of the fidelity required by his nature; for that experience of outrage at a brutal murder which science has neither the language to describe nor the means to comprehend. Millions of finite men will never add up to an Absolute, source, *Urgrund*. Why is this so? Will simple secretions of the brain like sugar and vitriol explain sufficiently the men that we are in the condition we know ourselves to be—lovers, searchers, yearners? Dondeyne's is a sustained argument from insufficient causality. Its language insures the possibility of a reading by those to whom it is directed, though the use of existentialist terms to describe the ontologic suppositions basic to Christianity is neither fair play nor, perhaps, especially wise.

Professor Romaña of the Ebro Observatory has an extremely informative essay on astronomy, but so studded with priest-discoverers that one is permitted to wonder if he has kept perfect balance. There seems little lacking to his scientific treatment, within its terms. One almost regrets the impatient enthusiasm with which he turns philosopher, justified though he is from the use that has been made of the observatory as an arsenal against the God-idea. Romaña's mild haste to conclude to a Creator from the facts of order, entropy, and expansion in the universe does not, however, vitiate his real contribution which is a corrective chapter of scientific history. The same cannot be said of F. Ruschkamp, who in part undoes his biological work by his spirit of scorn for the opposition and the compression of his no-life-from-non-life argumentation. G. Vanderbroek of Louvain contributes a remarkably good paper in support of his evolutionary thesis. His restraint in discussing the Dawson-Piltdown hoax is a model for theists. Fehner and Huby sustain this high standard in their historical treatments of Christ in His times and the spread of Christianity in its milieu, but not before Messenger, Ternus, and de Lubac have caused some misgivings. The first named is admirable in his ability, toward the end of a long life, to absorb new papal teaching which removes many of the restraints under which his sturdy and frequently misleading apologetic volumes indicate he felt he labored. Messenger's essay underlines chiefly, however, the book's desperate need for a good chapter on the literary *genre* of early Genesis, and a clearer indication that the theological views of A. Bea of the Gregorian University have no stronger weight than his arguments. Similarly, Ternus leaves much unsaid about modern mental measurement and factor-psychology, while de Lubac seems needlessly impatient with overconfident theorizings of the past before settling down to a serious discussion of the origin of religion. It is always a mistake to identify, even briefly, the perverted use of a science with that science itself. Duhr's essay deals fairly with Lutheran origins. H. du Passage, Woodruff, and G. Wetter are more in the realm of the interpretation of history. Woodruff's "The Church in the Age of Capitalism" sweeps through many centuries with the aid of three citations in all, one from Lacordaire. Lastly there are the considerations of the Church and of the problem of pain by two Dominican scholars, respectively Liégé and Congar, both of Le Saulchoir. For the reviewer they mark a high point of excellence in the collection, but this may be simply a reflection of his areas of particular interest.

Taken all together, it must be said of the volume that it is a remarkable editorial achievement. To have assembled between two covers so much solid history and enlightened reasoning was no small feat. The apologetic problem will, of its nature, vary with each successive age. This sym-

posium seems to have the virtue of addressing itself successfully to the present age. The bibliographies concluding each chapter are by no means the book's least merit.

GERARD S. SLOYAN

The Catholic University of America

The Theory of the Mixed Constitution in Antiquity. By Kurt von Fritz. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1954. Pp. xiv, 490. $7.50.)

The sub-title of this book, "A Critical Analysis of Polybius' Political Ideas," indicates adequately what it deals with. As the author says in his first sentence: "No part of ancient political theory has had a greater influence on political theory and practice in modern times than the theory of the mixed constitution." I would modify this statement to read "American political theory and practice," because I do not believe the mixed constitution has been revered and hallowed as the wisdom of the founding fathers in any other country as it has been in the United States.

This study of Polybius has been long overdue, not because he was a great philosopher but because he expressed a philosophic tradition, essentially Hellenistic rather than Hellenic, which is almost completely undocumented in other Greek writings. As von Fritz indicates, Cicero expresses some of this point of view, many of whose basic principles derive from the works of Plato, especially the cyclic theory upon which the theory of the mixed constitution rests.

The author's treatment of two disputed points must be noted. As to the contention, often made, that Polybius lacked the philosophic ability to derive his cyclic theory from Plato's work, the author rejects with scorn all notions of a "Polybius before Polybius" and insists that no intermediary need be found. The second point has to do with the theory that although Polybius, as Mommsen noted, completely missed the location of the real power in the Roman state he later tried to correct this error by implication. The author seems to favor the view that Polybius eventually did realize where the chief source of power was to be found.

One cannot do justice to a solid work such as this in a brief review. Let us note that Polybius' historical method receives considerable attention and high praise. The cycle of constitutions and the mixed constitution, which result from an attempt to break the cycle and achieve stability, receive full discussion not only by philosophical analysis but also as exemplified in the history and development of the Roman constitution itself. The three final chapters before the chapter on the conclusion deal almost entirely with Roman history and contain some very fine treatment of the period of the Republic. The chapter on the causes of the downfall

of the Republic deserves to be read and used along with the best historical works on this period. In addition to an excellent introduction and a "life and times" of Polybius, the work contains three appendices: a translation of excerpts from Polybius that deal with his political theory; the concept of Tyche as found in Polybius; and a brief essay on Cretan institutions. The notes, arranged by chapters, are at the end of the book followed by a brief list of works frequently cited and a good index.

THOMAS A. BRADY

University of Missouri

Christianity and Western Civilization. By Carlton J. H. Hayes. (Stanford University: Stanford University Press. 1954. Pp. vii, 63. $2.50.)

The dean of American Catholic historians in this series of lectures advances the thesis that certain distinctive features of western civilization have been inspired and given substance primarily by its historic religion—specifically, western ideals of freedom, limited government, and humanitarian compassion. As he admits in the preface, it is impossible in three summary lectures adequately to develop and support the thesis. Neither could time be found to distinguish between ideas specifically Christian in origin and those adopted by Christian from other sources; and it may well be such a distinction is unnecessary.

However agreeable it would be to concede the thesis (a *diabolus advocatus* does not lead a happy life), and recognizing space and time limitations mentioned above, some obvious lacunae call for mention before this reviewer would undertake to defend the thesis. Dr. Hayes argues that the Christian concept of individuality has led, historically, to an ideal of individual liberty wherever Christianity spread and became deeply enrooted. If this be conceded (and certainly one would need to know the meaning of "individual liberty" before conceding), yet there are various understandings of the Christian concept of individuality. It does not follow that all understandings of the concept do call people to cry out against despotism or to raise popular rebellion against tyranny.

Dr. Hayes restates what has become a current belief among historians—that the nineteenth and twentieth centuries up to 1920 constituted a notable period of progressive human liberty. He cites extension of the suffrage, the end of Negro slavery, removal of trade restrictions, and a concerted effort to raise the standard of living of everybody. Again one can get mixed up in a real semantic difficulty. Just what is meant by "liberty"? How would Dr. Hayes relate the standard of living to "liberty"? Was not the raising of the standard of living at the expense of

some "liberties"? Would Dr. Hayes distinguish between liberty within the state and liberty against the state? Again, the French Revolution is cited as a gateway to the broadening liberty of the nineteenth century. Perhaps, but what of the rationalization and centralization of government so greatly encouraged by the French Revolution? Did it not tell against liberty in the long run?

Professor Hayes seems to me to be on firmer ground when writing about plural authority, constitutional government, and humanitarian movements. As a matter of judgment, I would ascribe more influence to circumstances than he does (except for humanitarianism). I do not doubt Dr. Hayes' thesis can be proved, but a much larger book than this would be required to do it.

JOHN J. KAMERICK

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The Origins of Russia. By Henryk Paszkiewicz. (New York: Philosophical Library, Inc. 1954. Pp. xii, 556. $10.00.)

Aside from a short foreword by the author, this voluminous work of a Polish refugee scholar is divided into four parts. The first section is devoted to "The Meaning of the Term 'Rus', 988-1237," "The Eastern Slavs," "The Population of the Dniester and Bug Regions," and "The Problem Rus in Early Polish History." In the second part the author discusses "Rus in the 9th and 10th Centuries," "'Nestor' on the Origins of the Rus," "The Norse Period in the History of Eastern Europe." Part three is dedicated to "Ancient Lithuania," "The Eastern Slavs under Lithuanian Rule," and "The Polish-Lithuanian Union." Part four includes "The Finns on the Volga," "The Grand Duchy of Vladimir," and "The Rise of Moscow." There are, too, the following appendices: 1. The Geographical Meaning of the term "Rus"; 2. The Tale of the Raid of Igor; 3. The Territory of the Ulichians; 4. The Croat Territory; 5. The Dulebian League; 6. The Lyakhs and the Origin of the Radimichians and Vyatichians; 7. A Polish Metropolitan See of the Slavonic Rite; 8. Origins of Halicz; 9. Some Comments on the Sources Relating to the Norse Descent of Rus; 10. Was the Black Sea Ever Called the Sea of the Rus?; 11. The Krivichians; 12. The Hungarian Missionary Julianus in Eastern Europe During the Great Tartar Invasion; 13. Ukraine and the Ukrainian Nation (pp. 331-462). Pages 453-556 contain supplementary notes, abbreviations, bibliography, maps, genealogical tables, and indices of sources, authors, and editors, of personal, ethnical, and geographical names.

The work of Professor Paszkiewicz is the achievement and result of a tremendous amount of reading, research, and the re-thinking of many fundamental problems of East European history which urged him to attempt to interpret them from new points of view. He presents the problems of the Kievan Rus State with a keen sense of their interdependence on the basis of a gigantic bibliography which is utilized in extensive footnotes and citations. What makes the book extremely valuable is the fact that the Soviet publications of recent years are also included and evaluated. Thus Paszkiewicz's work is virtually an encyclopaedia of all important questions of East European history and will become an indispensable handbook for studies of political, religious, and cultural history. All the basic problems which, in the Soviet Union are regulated by orders and instructions from the Russian Communist Party, are freely discussed in this work which, in this regard, is a symbol of the lost academic freedom in Moscow's sphere of influence.

Speaking with profound respect about this laborious work, with which the author has enriched, in English, the literature on eastern Europe and which is a welcome counterbalance to Vernadsky's *Kievan Russia* and *The Mongols and Russia*, I am sure that Paszkiewicz's book will be the focus of a very lively discussion because some of his opinions and interpretations are controversial. Space does not permit the listing of them. I, therefore, limit myself to the most important objections.

The accuracy of the title of the work, *The Origins of Russia*, is contradicted by the author's foreword and the book's general terminology which uses the term "Rus." His new interpretation of the history of "Rus" is based on a semantical analysis of this word, but he overlooks the necessity that, from the methodological point of view, his analysis should also have included the meanings and their respective territories of derived words like "Rusin" or "Rusych." The work is limited to the history of Rus from the ninth to the fourteenth century, but from the methodological point of view is it correct to discuss the "Norse Age" in eastern Europe and completely neglect the previous "Gothic" period, created by the ancestors of the Norsemen? There is a continuity in the historical development of this territory with a part of which the term of Rus was closely connected, and this fundamental fact must be taken into account. Basing his new interpretation on semantics, a branch of linguistics on the one hand, the author, on the other hand, suggests some rules for the exploitation of sources in which linguistics is mainly regarded of auxiliary importance (p. 113). He does not know that Korduba's opinion about the origins of Rus provoked, in the 1930's at the Ukrainian Historical-Philological Society in Prague, a discussion which lasted more than a year with bi-weekly symposia, the papers of which, including valuable material,

were mimeographed. I do not see a sufficient basis for the reopening of the question regarding the authenticity of *The Tale of the Raid of Igor*, which, after World War II, was rather carefully discussed by linguists who refuted Mazon's opinions. I fully agree that all the usages of the term "Ukraina" in Nestor's chronicle demand a careful semantic and territorial analysis, but I cannot follow his rather superficial presentation of the problem of the origin of the Ukrainian nation.

The discussion which this book will provoke on both sides of the Iron Curtain, and among scholars of various nations, will in the long run prove a great stimulus to the clarification of fundamental problems of eastern European history.

ROMAN SMAL-STOCKI

Marquette University

The Historical Thought of Fustel de Coulanges. By Jane Herrick. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1954. Pp. vi, 144. $1.75.)

Studies in historiography offer tidy and frequently rewarding topics for doctoral dissertations. Miss Herrick has exhibited great competence in her analysis of the views of a celebrated nineteenth-century French historian on the nature, method, and practice of history. She not only places him effectively in the intellectual milieu of his epoch, surveys what is known of his academic life, and evaluates his publications; but also delves carefully into all his positive statements as to the nature of history, the methods to be followed in its pursuit, and even analyzes typical major works to determine how closely he followed his own precepts. The author finally attempts to evaluate his influence on the scholars he trained and on historical methodology. In rendering summary evaluation she is judiciously restrained, as becomes the biographer of so rigorous a methodologist.

Miss Herrick has made use not only of the complete bibliography of Fustel de Coulanges, but also of the critical materials written by his students and contemporaries that have any light to give on her problem. The general organization of her work could not be improved, and her literary facility is such that even a somewhat technical subject is illuminated by its unassuming but admirable clarity.

CYRIL E. SMITH

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The Social Sciences in Historical Study: A Report of the Committee on Historiography. [Social Science Research Council *Bulletin 64.*] (New York: Social Science Research Council. 1954. Pp. x, 181. $2.25 cloth; $1.75 paper.)

In 1946 the Social Science Research Council published *Bulletin 54, Theory and Practice in Historical Study: A Report of the Committee on Historiography.* This bulletin stimulated much thought and discussion, as well as a demand for more reports. *Bulletin 64* is a response to that demand. It is conceived as an "explanation of how historians and other social scientists can better attain profitable cooperation, through more effective knowledge and use of ideas and methods dominant in the various social sciences." Though more immediately a result of *Bulletin 54,* it is also a reflection of the growing fraternization of history and the social sciences. It deals "with the problems involved in making effective use of social science concepts and social science methods in historical interpretation."

While this is not at all a new development, no one can but applaud an attempt to convince historians that the social sciences should be added to the list of the traditional "auxiliary sciences." Too long, or at least too entirely, have they limited themselves to the evidence which lay in the "documents," in the raw data and the direct "testimony." The techniques of analysis have given added meaning to the definition of a "document"; it must now include findings which are the result of the application of social science methods in their appropriate fields, the results of empirical research. It would be unjust to both the committee and to the readers of this REVIEW to imply in any way that *Bulletin 64* is not eminently worthy of study. No historian should omit reading it. Yet one must note that there is a large group of historians who will insist that the method itself of social science has limitations and that many social scientists seem to be pure positivists. This, of course, would imply a rejection by these social scientists of a spiritual philosophy of history—if, indeed, they would admit the possibility of such a philosophy at all. Such men reject value judgments and ultimately deny all values themselves which are not testable by their research methods. But this residue includes a good part of the most intimate and individual side of life. Undoubtedly, some of the positivist social scientists now admit that a methodology inspired by the Comtian conception of physical science produces but probabilities, if only because physical science itself no longer contends that it arrives at absolute certainties. But their methodology still does not admit that anything worthy of the name of knowledge exists beyond its reaches.

This report does not urge upon historians the indiscriminate use even of the findings of the social scientists, much less of pure positivism. One finds, e.g., that "historical change on this level of basic social conditioning is . . . a difficult and—in the present stage of social science knowledge—a highly speculative study" (p. 163). Historians are advised that they must not all "think alike or feel obliged to treat history as a social science" (p. 141). Nevertheless, they are also informed that "in so far as historians essay judgments on worth, they must publicly admit values to *hypothetical status*" (p. 144, emphasis added). Possibly it may be unjust to the writer of this statement to observe that it does not seem to be at variance with the atmosphere of the report as a whole; yet, if that atmosphere does have something of the positivist about it, it also conveys the impression that those responsible for the report feel that they can yield no allegiance to the rigidity of principle once imposed by a purely Comtian concept of a social science methodology.

J. Robert Lane

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Winona

MEDIAEVAL HISTORY

Le moyen âge. By François L. Ganshof. Volume I. *Histoire des relations internationales publiée sous la direction de Pierre Renouvin.* (Paris: Librairie Hachette. 1953. Pp. xvii, 331.)

This is the first of a series of six volumes on the history of international relations which will cover the period from the early Middle Ages to the end of World War II. In a stimulating introduction to the series Pierre Renouvin points out that traditional historians have limited the field to a study of the relations between governments, the role of diplomats and government leaders. The theory behind this was that the evolution of the relations between states depended upon the views of these men.

Recently, however, two new outlooks have emerged. One group emphasizes less the relations between governments and more those between peoples. These scholars think the underlying social and economic forces are decisive in explaining the relations between states and peoples. The spectacular incidents of diplomats are merely unimportant surface movements, reflections rather than determining causes. A second school de-emphasizes the social and economic forces as preponderant and stresses rather the collective passions of peoples, sentiments, temperaments, traditions, and manner of thinking "l'état d'ame." The decisive factor then is

"collective psychology." The authors of the series propose to consider the role of all three factors: diplomatic, socio-economic, and collective psychlogy in these volumes of "synthèse generale."

Professor Ganshof's volume covers the thousand years from the breakup of Roman unity in the fifth century through the fifteenth century. Nine chapters are concerned with the spiritual, political, economic, and social aspects of international relations. They give a survey of mediaeval history much as might be found in a good brief textbook. The other three chapters (III, VII and XII), the most interesting of the book, summarize the techniques employed in international relations primarily from the political point of view. In these the author analyzes the evolution of the methods used and illustrates his points with numerous examples drawn from the practices of the Byzantine and Moslem worlds as well as from those of western Europe. He brings out well the techniques used in order to achieve understanding, the gradual emergence of independent political unities, and the parallel developments of permanent embassies in mid-fifteenth century Italy. He stresses the evolution of commercial relations and the treaties which regulated them, and the frequent role of the papacy as mediator and arbiter of quarrels between princes.

The work is a welcome addition to the literature on a subject of such current interest and importance. His conclusion speaks for itself: "Nothing is more disgraceful than the history of the centuries of efforts to give Western Europe some permanent basis of order and peace: it is the history of a chain of failures."

JAMES A. CORBETT

University of Notre Dame

A History of the Crusades. Volume III. *The Kingdom of Acre and the Later Crusades.* By Steven Runciman. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1954. Pp. xii, 530. $6.50.)

Runciman's third and final volume carries the crusade story from the Third Crusade to the fall of the Latin east at the close of the thirteenth century with an epilogue on the later crusades. Except for the Third and Fourth Crusades the thirteenth-century expeditions are less well known than those of the eleventh and twelfth. Even less understood are the politics of Latin Syria and Cyprus. As a consequence, this volume, which is the first detailed treatment in English of the thirteenth-century Orient, will prove immensely valuable. Further, it includes the pertinent developments in farther Asia. There is an excellent discussion of the Mongols, their conquests in Asia, their intrusion into the Levant, and their diplomatic relations with Europe.

As in the first two volumes Mr. Runciman has presented a narrative consisting largely of military events and the related diplomacy. There are many references to contemporary institutions, political and religious, but no attempt has been made to give any systematic analysis of such institutions. Thus the work differs from that of La Monte or of the more recent volume of J. Richard, *Le Royaume Latin de Jérusalem*, which apparently appeared too late for inclusion in the bibliography. There are, however, two chapters on "The Commerce of Outremer" and on "Architecture and the Arts." The latter is enhanced by several handsome and well chosen plates.

Except for the final chapter on the crusades of the later Middle Ages where he follows Atiya, Mr. Runciman has relied principally on contemporary materials, oriental and western. At the same time he has not hesitated to interpret these sources and to apportion praise or blame. Unfortunately, the subject matter affords more opportunity for the latter than for the former. For the thirteenth-century crusade story, as the author repeatedly points out, is a dreary chronicle of wasted opportunities and incredible mistakes, of civil strife in the face of the gravest danger. With the exception of the Third Crusade which insured the continued, if precarious, existence of a Latin kingdom, there is none of the surge of earlier days. Thus St. Louis' failures are the more tragic because his sanctity seemed to deserve a better fate. The Emperor Frederick II's "success" in negotiating for the possession of Jerusalem is placed in its proper light and Runciman finds him "of all the great Crusaders . . . the most disappointing."

But if blunders and misfortunes can explain much, the Fourth Crusade the author regards as the "result of deliberate malice. There was never a greater crime against humanity." These are strong words, perhaps too strong. There was probably as much opportunism as malice in the attack on Constantinople. And yet it is difficult to exaggerate the consequences, not only to the crusading movement but to western civilization of the rift between eastern and western Christendom which the Fourth Crusade immensely deepened. The author returns to this theme in a final chapter in which he offers his interpretation of the entire crusade movement. Broadly speaking, his conclusions reflect his primary concern with military and diplomatic history. When viewed in this light it is probably true that

> in the long sequence of interaction and fusion between Orient and Occident out of which our civilization has grown, the Crusades were a tragic and destructive episode. The historian as he gazes back across the centuries at their gallant story must find his admiration overcast by sorrow at the witness that it bears to the limitations of human nature. There was so much courage and so little honour, so much devotion and so little understanding.

It is significant, however, that the historians of institutions, e.g., La Monte and more recently Richard, or even Grousset, reach different judgments and give greater emphasis to the positive "colonial" achievements of the Syrian Franks. At any rate, here is added material for the perennial controversy over the consequences of the crusades.

Although Runciman's third volume cannot end on a happy note it does bring to a conclusion his admirable synthesis of an extremely important aspect of European history. It is this reviewer's guess that as a narrative of the crusades it will stand for some time as the best of its scope in English. The forthcoming Pennsylvania History of the Crusades will be longer, more detailed, more institutional, and the work of many scholars rather than of one; in short, an essentially different kind of treatment. Volume III of Runciman, like the preceding volumes, is handsomely printed. The reviewer found only one or two typographical errors. There are five maps, fifteen fine plates, and a detailed genealogical chart which includes six princely houses, Christian, Moslem, and Mongol. The intellectual life of Outremer, which the author finds disappointing in not developing further the available contacts with oriental learning, is treated in an appendix. Primary sources are discussed in another appendix. To the list of secondary works there should be added the Richard volume mentioned above, Soranzo, *Il papato, l'Europa cristiana e i Tartari,* and the studies of Altaner, Olschki, and van der Vat on the missionaries and envoys to the Mongols. The chapter on commerce especially would have profited by Richard's summary and more complete bibliography.

MARSHALL W. BALDWIN

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The English Traveler to Italy. Volume I. *The Middle Ages (to 1525).* By George B. Parks. (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1954. Pp. xx, 669. $10.00.)

The English Traveler to Italy presents the account of various journeys made by Englishmen from the time of St. Augustine to the age of the Renaissance, together with a voluminous and itemized recital of the reasons underlying their wanderings as well as a systematic charting of their itineraries. Many familiar personages, including Wilfred, Alcuin, Aldhelm, and King Canute, are viewed in surroundings far from the locale in which we are accustomed to place them. The arduous and sometimes perilous trip was ventured upon by individuals from all ranks of English society, and the motives for their travel were diversified. Kings went on pilgrimages or crusades, diplomats sought political advantage or

productive treaties, bishops set out for the tomb of St. Peter and returned with spiritual and instructional treasures, while their clerics traveled to Rome for further study and inspiration. The roads which led from the channel ports to Italy were likewise filled with pilgrims bound for the Holy Land and merchants with business in Venice or Florence. Not to be overlooked were the light-hearted students and the equally adventuresome searchers for adventure who needed no other reason for their trip.

Mr. Parks presents the story of all these travelers, and their social rank is the basis for the chapter division of this lengthy volume. The picture is drawn with finer detail when noblemen are discussed because the records and source materials are naturally more numerous and accessible. Such sources are squeezed dry for the facts which they may contain, as evidenced by the complete description given concerning the adventures, discomforts, hospitality, architectural wonders, social customs, and geographical backgrounds met by these forerunners of the "grand tour" so dear to eighteenth-century hearts. Dr. Parks' thorough use of the pertinent sources has produced a more ample treatment of the various embassies made by the English to Rome for political purposes during the late Middle Ages and in early Tudor times. Historians usually treat such topics with the briefest of allusions, but this volume offers a detailed and illuminating account of these missions with a particularly interesting explanation of the overtures made to the Holy See by the emissaries of Henry VIII.

However, not all of the sources quoted possess equal authenticity. The author has not hesitated to use, with appropriate warning, legendary material, especially in the narration of the journeys of early pilgrims, many of whom are now venerated as saints. There is always the search beneath the legend for the kernel of truth which inspired the embroidered account. In this regard Dr. Parks resembles Eleanor S. Duckett in her *Anglo-Saxon Saints and Scholars* (New York, 1947). A comparison of the treatment of Aldhelm can illustrate this procedure. Incidentally, the reader cannot help but be impressed by the clear fact that the records of all English travelers up to 1027 bear unanimous witness to the recognition of Rome as the sole spiritual mother for the English Church, which is a patent contradiction of frequently asserted Anglican claims.

The richness of materials renders the volume an excellent reference work on this neglected phase of mediaeval life, yet they can prove to be a stumbling block for the average reader. One can learn such details as student life in Italy, Holy Year pilgrimages, Irish saints in Italy, suggested itineraries for visiting Roman shrines, and other fascinating nuggets of information. But the wealth of scholarship hampers the easy flow of language and sustained interest cannot be maintained. Dr. Parks possesses a sufficiently vivid style that occasionally emerges, but the skein

of narration becomes knotted on the many-pronged needle of extensive footnotes and bibliography. Here is the perpetual dilemma which faces the modern historian—whether to write a complete and accurate summation of a theme with an appeal to the few, or to trim skillfully the appurtenances of scholarship in order to present an easy flowing result with greater appeal and wider effect. *The English Traveler to Italy* is complete, objective, and fair in its conclusions. It should interest the student who finds mediaeval England a continuously surprising civilization.

THOMAS W. CUNNINGHAM

Seton Hall University

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Meaning of Nationalism. By Louis L. Snyder with a foreword by Hans Kohn (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. Pp. xv, 208. $4.50.)

Professor Snyder has sought the meaning of nationalism by diligent study of what has been said about it—and about nation, nationality, patriotism, and racialism—by a wide variety of modern scholars and publicists, including not only historians, political scientists, and sociologists, but psychiatrists and even psychoanalysts. Such a study is certainly useful, though it hardly serves to distinguish "nationality" from "nation" or to clarify "nationalism." We might wish that the author had been less modest and more critical of the extensive literature on the subject. With his undoubted scholarly competence, he would have enlightened us by developing his own definition of nationalism. He does express his own views on racialism, and in my opinion they are thoroughly sound.

The study is concerned almost wholly with writers on European nationalism, and here Professor Snyder apparently echoes and agrees with the distinction popularized by Professor Hans Kohn between the nationalism of Germany and eastern Europe and that of western "liberal" Europe. While I recognize differences in emphasis and degree, I remain skeptical about the depth of the distinction. If Bismarck and Hitler were peculiar to Germany, they were yet not too different from Henry VIII and Cromwell, or from Louis XIV and Napoleon. Various kinds of nationalism—liberal and intolerant and totalitarian—have been in evidence, sometimes simultaneously, in every European country, and the nationalism which is now ascendant throughout Asia and in Africa is not of one kind, neither all "eastern" nor all "western."

The work is very well written and contains a select but excellent bibliography. In this, curiously enough, I find no reference to the pertinent books in cultural anthropology by A. L. Kroeber and the late Clark Wissler.

CARLTON J. H. HAYES

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Humanism and the Social Order in England. By Fritz Caspari. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1954. Pp. viii, 292. $6.50.)

After a very suggestive essay on "Social and Intellectual Foundations of English Humanism" the author of this work moves directly into individual studies of Erasmus, More, Elyot, Starkey, a chapter on "Humanism and the Rise of the Gentry," then final chapters on Sidney and Spenser before a very brief summarizing epilogue. There are nearly eighty pages of notes, which unfortunately are not covered by the index. A first reading impresses one with its importance as a contribution to Tudor scholarship, and one feels confident in declaring that the command of scholarly authorities and the range of his first-hand acquaintance with Renaissance texts will make this a contribution of lasting importance. Among omissions, one misses any references to Dudley and Fortescue, to the widely read *Doctor and Student,* or to other essays by W. Schenk and Father Surtz besides those utilized. Moreover, reference to W. H. Dunham's important study in the *English Historical Review* of 1944 on the membership of Henry's whole council from 1509 to 1527 would have clarified the statement of More's influence upon the king.

It is, one may remark, a striking commentary on studies of English humanism that Seebohm's *Oxford Reformers* (1867, 1869) has remained a classic study for nearly a century—perhaps, for the reason suggested by Rosemond Tuve, that a definitive history of the relations of the fifteenth to the sixteenth and seventeenth-century writers in England cannot be written until the break between Middle Ages and Renaissance has been repaired. Professor Caspari largely overleaps the mediaeval tradition, and in his initial working definition of humanism there is nothing of the sense of humanism working within, or out of, Christian tradition. There is some shifting of ground and apparent contradiction in his conspectus of humanism and its relation to the Christian framework for—as we may see in his discussion of Erasmus—he vacillates from a declaration that it is a problem "how important for Erasmus' whole outlook was the *devotio moderna*" (p. 30), to the statement that Erasmus was a "Christian

humanist, a liberal rationalist" (p. 33), for whom, "the role of reason, achieved through education, would therefore result in men's living together in universal peace and harmony in accord with the lessons of Christ's Sermon on the Mount" (p. 34). Yet Erasmus is said to be one who "probably would have been happier in the enlightened and tolerant atmosphere of that period [the eighteenth century] than he was in his age of violent religious convictions" (pp. 35-36). On the whole, Caspari concludes, "he preferred to take refuge in his vision of a purely rational and, therefore, good man, whom he opposed to the unpleasant reality." Any sense of the enormous influence of Erasmian thought in the sixteenth century is then scattered *passim* through the following pages, in which form it is difficult to see this influence wholely or very clearly.

What seems most conspicuously and seriously lacking, then, in this volume which offers so much penetrating discussion of individual books and ideas, is the author's failure to present with sufficient emphasis and clarity, so as to suggest his failure to understand, the relationship between the classical and the Christian traditions. This failure leads to a view of Christian humanism with much of the Christianity left out, malfocused or overqualified; and it gives us a view of some of the major works of that humanistic tradition, e.g., More's *Utopia*, that is overweighted toward the classical. That there is much Platonic thought in *Utopia* few would deny, but there is need apparently to insist upon the strong Augustinian elements in More's thinking generally and in the *Utopia* in particular. It is a curious omission which needs very much to be pointed out, that nowhere in this book on humanism and social order is St. Augustine, or his *City of God* (on which we know More lectured), or any other of his enormously influential writings, even mentioned. Save for a failure to consider the Bible itself, and possibly that cluster of ideas known as Renaissance Neo-Platonism, I do not know of a more crippling omission for a study of such problems in the sixteenth century.

These limitations having been established, Caspari's very accurate and closely reasoned study must be seen as a contribution of more than ordinary importance, whose thesis of the continuity of humanism from the time of Erasmus and More down into the reign of Elizabeth must be reckoned with in any future considerations of English humanism, but whose failure sufficiently to consider religious values must be weighed at nearly every point of his discussion.

RICHARD J. SCHOECK

University of Notre Dame

Antonio Pérez "Spanish Traitor." By Gregorio Marañón. (London: Hollis and Carter. 1954. Pp. xiv, 382. 42/.)

Philip II has long been an enigma to students of sixteenth-century history. Violently attacked and passionately defended, he has been praised as the "Prudent King" and condemned as "The Black Demon of the South." In this newly-translated work, Dr. Gregorio Marañón, exiled Spanish doctor of medicine and historian, eschewing both extremes, provides a plausible analysis of Don Philip and his notorious Secretary of State. Translated by Charles David Ley, the present edition is actually an abridged version of the Spanish original, pruned by the author himself of material which had too local an interest for the non-Spanish reader. Dr. Marañón, in directing the book to the English-speaking reader, states that he wishes to present "the age as it was," freed from the distortions of "current myths about Spanish history." The author, casting his powerful spotlight on the figure of the royal favorite, Antonio Pérez, never permits us to lose sight of Don Philip in the background. Both men he regards as *renocimiento puro,* men of their age, an age whose political morality was at a far lower ebb than that of our own times. This lowness of moral tone in high places explains why even a religious man like Philip could tolerate methods which seem incredible to us in a conscientious public figure, although these same methods were condoned by some responsible churchmen of the time.

Two groups sought the royal favor in the 1560's and 1570's: one, the conservative party of the Duke of Alba, which favored strong methods to quell the unrest in Spanish Flanders, the other led by Ruy Gómez, Prince of Éboli, which sought peace with the nationalistic Flemings. Antonio Pérez, of illegitimate birth and uncertain antecedents, but possessed of genuine ability, was a protegé of Éboli and obtained, through the prince's influence, the post of secretary to Philip. Éboli, who had succeeded the disgraced Duke of Alba as the king's favorite, died five years later in 1573. The following five years, which form the heart of the present book, witnessed Pérez' struggle to become the one indispensable royal favorite. His partner in the great effort was Éboli's widow, Doña Ana. Marañón successfully blasts the popularly accepted "love legend" which linked Pérez and his former master's widow, and involved Don Philip himself as a jealous third party. The association of Pérez and Doña Ana is clearly shown to be a political and financial relationship. Avid for money and power, and unscrupulous in their ways of obtaining them, the pair became deeply implicated in plots, counterplots, espionage, and treason.

Philip's character, the author holds, was neither that of a saint nor that of a devil. Conscious of a tremendous responsibility to combat the

forces of the Protestant Revolt, he seemed at times to consider himself second in authority to God alone. Directing himself in every act toward the well-being of his subjects, he was admitted even by a contemporary critic to be "the perfect master in the art of ruling." Influenced by Tacitus more than Machiavelli, some of his actions seem abominable to us, though they were consistent with the man's own logic. His greatest fault, Marañón points out, was his *timidez,* his hopeless irresoluteness. What his supporters considered his prudence was really a psychological inability to come to a decision.

Another flaw in the king's character was jealousy of his universally loved half-brother Don John, whom he had sent to retrieve the almost hopeless Flemish situation. Pérez corresponded frequently with Don John and his secretary, Juan de Escobedo. In his characteristic way, he intrigued to advance himself in Philip's favor by constantly denigrating Don John and his secretary. Escobedo returned to Spain with the object of clarifying issues, realized Pérez' duplicity, and was about to expose him to the king. Pérez worked fast; he placed the blame for Don John's supposed treason on Escobedo, persuaded Philip to approve a private "execution" without trial. Failing in his attempts to poison Escobedo, Pérez finally had him murdered in a public street. Yet even now, Philip, who desired the end but not the means, helped Pérez to protect the murderers from his own justice. The secretary had gone too far this time, however. Escobedo's relatives and friends, as well as the enemies of Pérez, joined forces to demand justice. Philip, whose own conscience probably was disturbing him, now lost confidence in his favorite, and, after Don John's death in Flanders, discovered that he had been entirely maligned by Pérez. His fall from his high post was not long delayed: both Pérez and the Princess of Éboli were arrested on July 28, 1579, and Cardinal Antonio Granvella, who did not represent either the Alba or the Éboli faction, became the king's chief advisor.

Dr. Marañón's readable work is both colorful biography and sound history. The text is supplemented by an excellent bibliography, which includes a listing of unpublished material in various state and private archives and libraries.

WILLIAM KELLER

Seton Hall University

Modern Germany. Its History and Civilization. By Koppel S. Pinson. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1954. Pp. xv, 637. $10.00.)

Ever since his first book, *Pietism as a Factor in the Rise of German Nationalism* (1934) which earned Meineke's aproval, Dr. Pinson

has maintained a lively interest in the study of recent German history and its problematic aspects. Painstaking investigations that left little of the available information unexplored, and a profound knowledge of the subject, have resulted in his most recent book. The author considers his work as "a sincere attempt to present the pattern of German developments on a broad canvas and with a sympathetic awareness of the manifold complexity of the forces and factors at work in the fashioning of modern Germany." This volume offers one of the finest examples of historical synthesis. It will no doubt appeal to many categories of readers for the completeness with which the factual material is presented, the breadth of vision and penetrating insight of a gifted historian who succeeded in keeping a masterly balance between the description of political, socio-economic evolutions, and intellectual history. There are no shallow spots in the well written narrative, and every page shows the author's remarkable power of analysis and organization, as well as his good judgment and a sense of justice which refutes the silly equation of *tout comprendre* and *tout pardonner*. With sound scholarship, and avoiding the pitfalls of simplification, he traces a century of German history so rich in achievements and dismal failures, and tries to illuminate the dark recesses of the mind of a nation that had long puzzled its own intellectual leaders before it went berserk in 1933.

Professor Pinson's brilliant interpretative account is sustained by ample documentary evidence listed in bibliographical notes at the end of the volume. The bibliographical material is more than adequate except, perhaps, for Chapter XX where one misses such important contributions as Arnold Brecht's *Prelude to Silence* (New York, 1934). The index is well done and quite accurate.

A few errors I noticed may be pointed out. "Paris under the commune held out until January 28, 1871" (p. 147). The socialistic commune did not gain control in Paris until March 28, 1871. Bismarck's constitution of 1871 "governed the Reich until 1917" (p. 157), which is—at least in this form—misleading. The constitution of the German Empire remained intact until October 28, 1918. "The state secretaries of the Reich were also members of the Prussian state government" (p. 161). This summary statement is not quite in keeping with the facts. Karl von Savigny is mentioned as "the last German ambassador to the Bund" (p. 189). Savigny was Prussia's last ambassador to the Bund (Germanic Confederation) shortly before the outbreak of the German civil war in 1866. The reference to the famous painting made upon request of William II, and bearing the legend, "Peoples of Eupore, Unite and Preserve Your Holiest Possessions" (p. 302), is obviously based upon a vague and incorrect description. Ludwig Geyer—reputed father of Richard Wagner—was not Jewish nor of Jewish descent (p. 264). On page 431 read

"Junge" instead of "Junger"; on page 489 "Richard Wagner" not "Adolf Wagner"; page 434 "bündnisfähig" instead of "bundnisfähig." Brüning was born in 1885, not 1884 (p. 469). The tabulation of the bomb damage on page 533 is partially incorrect. Papen was not exonerated by the German denazification court (p. 545); in fact, after his acquittal in Nuremberg, he drew a sentence of eight years but was later released. But these *errata* or *lapsus calami* are mere trifles, and in no way detract from the value of an admirable contribution which can be safely recommended as the most reliable guide available through the baffling complexities of recent German history.

HANS W. L. FREUDENTHAL

College of Saint Teresa

European Thought in the Eighteenth Century, From Montesquieu to Lessing. By Paul Hazard. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1954. Pp. xx, 477. $6.00.)

Professor Hazard has given us a penetrating and lively history of the intellectual climate of the eighteenth-century "enlightenment" of Europe. The main division of his theme is threefold: (1) "Christianity on Trial," the critical attack of the men of reason on God, Christ, and revealed religion; (2) "The City of Men," the new "natural" order constructed in the fields of law, religion, science, government, morality, and education; (3) "Disaggregation," the collapse of that new order from within and the triumph of the man of feeling over the man of reason. The author has mastered a century's spate of writing ranging from the encyclopedia to the pamphlet. Within a logical framework free play is given to the legion of voices and ideas in the age of reason. Here is no mere handbook, and over-simplifications are avoided. Thus the long influence of Descartes upon the French is not ignored. Nor is deism seen as a coherent and universal system. For Pope it was but a compromise with orthodoxy, for Voltaire it was synonomous with atheism, and for Lessing it was a phase in the evolutionary synthesis of all religions.

With a delightful mingling of scholarship and wit, the author analyzes afresh such phenomena as the encyclopedia and the despot. They are all here: Montesquieu, Berkeley, Hume, Lessing, Voltaire, Diderot, and a forgotten army of lesser lights. Rapidly shifting from Italy to Germany and from La Mettrie to Hume, the author becomes so absorbed in his study that at times it is difficult to tell whether the conversational tone is Diderot's or Hazard's. There is hardly a chapter without some reference to Locke the man of the past, and to Rousseau the man of the future.

While the author seeks to avoid playing the prophet in retrospect, he is not afraid to take a stand. He blames Voltaire for more than a fair share of the responsibility for the anti-clerical tradition of the French, and the deists for the modern areligious man. This excellent book is enhanced by a very full summary of contents, and by the flawless English of the translator, J. Lewis May. Hazard's work is most highly recommended to the historian, the philosopher, and the general reader as an example of French scholarship at its best.

JOHN EDMUND O'BRIEN

Seton Hall University

The Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon: 1880-1884. By S. Gopal. (London: Oxford University Press. 1954. Pp. 245. $3.40.)

In this, his second book, the son of India's distinguished scholar-statesman, Sir Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, analyzes what he deems "in many respects the most important Viceroyalty in British Indian history" (preface). On the basis of comprehensive study of relevant British and Indian materials, Mr. Gopal concludes that Lord Ripon's administration was a successful failure (p. 225). The successes of Ripon were, the author thinks, both practical and ideal. Practically, his renovation of the machinery of famine relief and agricultural improvement, his "humanitarian statesmanship" (p. 64), displayed in the Factory Act of 1881, his support, in the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act, of the "two great doctrines of a Free Press and the Rule of Law" (p. 75) put India forever in his debt. Ideally, Ripon's "instinctive approach to every question from the Indian angle" (p. 171), his discernment of the political importance of the new class of educated Indians, his struggle against racial discrimination in the crucial question of the Ilbert Bill made him "one of the great apostles of reconciliation between peoples" (p. 224).

But with the governmental control of the East India Company had gone its tradition of mutual regard in relations with India. Ripon's popularity with the Indian community earned for him the intense dislike of every section of the Anglo-Indian community (p. 121). This enmity Ripon was not strong enough to withstand. Sharing the liberal ideals of Gladstone, "he was wanting in the fire and courage which enabled Gladstone to sustain those ideals" (p. 150). Consequently, Ripon failed in his efforts to give the people of India their political education at the local government level. Instead they learned from the methods of the Anglo-Indians in their opposition to the Ilbert Bill to equate political action with revolutionary agitation. In this spirit the Indian National Congress was conceived (p. 165).

It is, perhaps, unfair to quarrel with the author for doing so precisely what he set out to do. Mr. Gopal intended to study the viceroyalty of Lord Ripon. He does this more completely and in better organized form than has ever before been attempted. But it is only this abstraction, the viceroyalty, with which he concerns himself. Nothing in the book comes alive, not Lord Ripon, nor his council, nor, most regrettably, India itself. If the author had reduced some of his economic and political statistics to tabular or graphic form, and had devoted the space thus saved to direct quotation from the sources which he cites so copiously, the statistics would have greater force, the study would gain in vitality, and his judgments on men and events would seem less arbitrary. The insertion of simple sketch maps would clarify the discussions of the Afghan frontier and the Manipur boundary. Some system of identification of persons is also urgently needed.

As it stands, the book is of interest and use only to the specialist in the history of India and the British Empire. From the specialist, however, Mr. Gopal's admirable thoroughness in investigation and his intimate understanding of Indian economics and politics will command respectful attention.

SISTER ALBERTUS MAGNUS MCGRATH

Rosary College

AMERICAN HISTORY

People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character. By David Potter. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954. Pp. xxvii, 219. $3.50.)

Professor Potter has essayed in this volume a dual project—a theoretical study of the conceptual problem of national character and of the relationships between history and the behavioral sciences, and a concrete study of the impact of economic abundance upon the character of the American people. As he suggests, either half can be read as a complete unit, although the two halves make a significant whole. The theme of the first half is that although many writers of history have spoken of it, have listed what they regarded as distinctive manifestations of it, history has no methodology for determining that there is such a thing as national character. Potter complains that history has no methodology for making generalizations, and that while history is pre-eminently concerned with the activities of man, it has made no real contributions to an understanding of the nature of man, for again it has no methodology for determining the nature of man acting either individually or as a member of a group.

He has turned, therefore, to the behavioral sciences for answers. And he chooses particularly the contributions of David Riesman, social psychologist, Margaret Mead, anthropologist, and Karen Horney, psychoanalyst. He concludes that there is such a thing as national character, indeed, an American national character. In her analysis of American character, Mead put the strongest emphasis on the way in which American life is geared to success rather than to status. Riesman is concerned with the diverse ways in which individuals at various stages of society have formed different systems of values, particularly how man has changed from being inner-directed to other-directed as his culture changed. Horney, arguing for an appreciation of the great import of cultural conditions on neuroses as against the Freudians who see only biological and physiological conditions as their roots, puts her stress on the principle of individual competition in modern society.

To Potter the significant results of these analyses are that they have demonstrated that national character is verifiable as a factual reality, that they have explored the culture, the medium within which national character develops, that this emphasis upon culture has freed the concept of national character from the curse of racism, that they have avoided the errors of crude environmentalism. These three diverse expository analyses of the American culture Potter has harmonized well. And since they do not agree in their analyses of determinants or causes, he argues cogently that this is, has to be, the contribution of history. History and the behavioral sciences must co-operate, for each supplies what the other cannot. The reviewer concurs, although he does not accept many of Potter's complaints of the shortcomings of history. Furthermore, in this co-operation of history and the behavioral sciences, the historian must guard against certain dangers, and the appraisers of the work of historians must recognize which aberrations, overemphases, and misunderstandings are due to prevailing beliefs in these behavioral sciences, and which are due to weakness in the historical craftsman.

Potter complains, e.g., that historians attempt to explain the causes of war without ever coming to an understanding about the causation of war in general. If this means that an understanding of why one war began requires the application of some general rules of war causation, the complaint betrays a basic fallacy against which the historical student must always be on guard. The prime function of historical study is to explain why a particular thing happened when it happened, to explain why men at a particular time did a particular thing. Succeeding in this, the historian may go on to generalize when he finds the same kind of motivation recurring regularly. But he must not reverse the process and explain particular events by applying some general rule, except as an hypothesis to be tested. It has been failure to obey this injunction that

has led to the writing of so much warped "history." Again, the study of the nature of man is not now, really never has been, the peculiar prerogative of the historian. Philosophers and psychologists, through the ages, as they do now, have made that their province. The contemporary historical student, as well as his forebears, brings to his historical studies what he learns from the other disciplines. And if there is error in the writings and interpretations of the historians, the fault lies with the other disciplines, or, more specifically, the adoption by the historian of mistaken analyses by the others. A sound philosophy is essential to sound historical generalizations.

The second part of this book is an attempt to show how the factor of economic abundance was a major determinant of the culture analyzed by the behavioral scientists. So it is also an attempt to show how history and the behavioral sciences mutually contribute to an understanding of the American character. Potter's chief purpose in these chapters is to demonstrate how the attributes of American character noted by the behavioral scientists are those of a culture determined by the recognized fact of economic abundance. He takes pains to point out that the significant abundance is not just a plethora of natural resources but, more important, the potentially social, usable abundance resulting from exploitation of those resources and from inventiveness and ingenuity. The explanation of why the very generous natural resources became social economic abundance is not definitive. Potter is not a pure environmentalist by any means, but let us hope not too many of his readers make the easy generalization that economic abundance is the unique shaper of American culture. His contentions that American ideas of equality, of democracy, are attainable only because of the economic abundance are not new, nor yet to this reviewer, proved. It is natural, therefore, that the author insists that foreign aid must be in the form of technical know-how which might bring about conditions of abundance elsewhere, rather than in finished goods—the evidence of our abundance. He insists the export of democratic ideals is worse than futile unless accompanied, or, better, preceded by export of technological skills. The essay on the Turner hypothesis, well done as it is, points out only one weakness of that hypothesis, viz., that the abundance of cheap lands was soon matched by abundance of economic opportunity in commerce and industry. He might have stressed more the weakness of Turner's undue emphasis on environment.

It is obvious that this study is the result of serious investigation and discussion. It should be equally provocative. Reading it has been a stimulating experience.

P. Raymond Nielson

The Creighton University

The Coming of the Revolution, 1763-1775. By Lawrence Henry Gipson. (New York: Harper & Bros. 1954. Pp. xiv, 287. $5.00.)

The picture presented in this volume is that of enterprising and prosperous "Americans" who, by 1763, had attained such a high degree of economic and political maturity, and of financial stability, that they could no longer be satisfied with colonial status. The author has been very successful in pointing out the decisive influence upon colonial policy of conditions in Great Britain. His thorough knowledge of the sources, listed in a forty-page bibliography, and his appreciation of the complex problems of imperial administration, which he previously demonstrated in his six-volume study of *The British Empire Before the American Revolution,* have resulted in a well-balanced interpretation.

Detailed information regarding colonial economic development is given to substantiate the thesis that the navigation acts were beneficial to the colonies. The author disagrees with the view that the Molasses Act was ruinous, although he recognizes that it worked hardships on those American importers who engaged in legal trade in competition with smugglers. He points out, too, that the recent history of the distilling industry in the United States proves its ability to prosper under much heavier excises than that of the act of 1733. Evidence is also cited to prove that the burden of public debt and taxes was very light—about 1 s. per capita tax as compared with a tax of at least 20 s. in Great Britain. One of Grenville's difficulties stemmed from the fact that the government had to meet squarely the charge of favoritism to the colonies. Professor Gipson believes that Grenville was one of the most able of British statesmen. This view is in sharp contrast to those of "American historians, in particular" whose custom it has been "to refer to Grenville in most uncomplimentary terms" (pp. 56-57). In contrast to the position taken in a recent study of the stamp act, the author cites evidence that there was a clear distinction drawn between internal taxes and external duties in the minds of most Americans as early as 1733 (p. 173, n. 46).

The forces of federalism and of nationalism could not be reconciled with the imperial system of the eighteenth century. While the solution suggested by the present British Commonwealth of Nations would have been the best from Britain's point of view, her statesmen could hardly have ventured to advocate such a revolutionary departure during the colonial period.

DORA J. GUNDERSON

Mercy College

The Social Ideas of the Northern Evangelists, 1826-1860. By Charles C. Cole, Jr. [Number 580. Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1954. Pp. 268. $4.25.)

In the galaxy of preachers here described—the ones emphasized are Lyman Beecher, Jacob Knapp, Francis Wayland, Joshua Leavitt, Albert Barnes, Horace Bushnell, and Charles G. Finney—the author sees the culmination of Protestant revivalism, the effect of which was to make the nation "more devout, more dogmatic and more conservative." The first to associate religion with organized reform movements, these zealous and opinionated men, aided by wealthy philanthropists, built up a "benevolent empire" of missionary, temperance, peace, and anti-slavery endeavor. The evangelists occupied an intermediary position in the evolution of American reform; they supplanted the earlier anti-religious radicals and, in turn, relinquished by mid-century the reformist torch into the hands of lay leadership.

The conspicuous merit of Cole's method is its attempt to analyze the ideas of the evangelists concerning moral improvement, political theory, economic policy, and the slavery question in the context of their theological outlook. In contrast to the older Calvinists, the new men for the most part invested human perfectibility with providential sanction, in this manner gratifying the aspirations of the rapidly growing middle classes for freedom and progress and encouraging them to promote benevolence and root out abuses. The middle-class affiliation of their reform limited its scope. "While they were willing," as Cole concludes, "to pioneer in social questions and plow new soil theologically they felt inspired to condemn innovation in the political and economic fields." By simultaneously lending spiritual sanction to wealth-getting and condemning trade unionism and labor legislation, they antagonized the industrial workers and forfeited a great opportunity to build up proletarian religious faith. Cole also insists that the easy assumption of the evangelists that Protestantism and progress were identical fanned the flames of the anti-Catholic crusade which all but disgraced the nation. He is equally critical of their unwillingness to advance a peaceful solution of the slavery question in the discussion of which they failed to mold public opinion, being content to echo the bellicose dogmas of the "higher law" and of "irrepressibility."

It is not to be inferred that the author is unduly interested in generalization. His major concern is with personalities and the motivations of their religious movement. His book is mainly a factual narrative based on wide and careful research which is identified in copious footnotes and an extensive bibliography. The interpretation is by way of clarification and summary.

AARON I. ABELL

University of Notre Dame

William Blount. By William H. Masterson. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1954. Pp. viii, 378. $5.00.)

William Blount, familiar to students of American history as Governor of the Southwest Territory, is portrayed in this first full-length biography as an aggressive capitalistic enterpriser. His political career spanned the decisive years of the last quarter of the eighteenth century. In the events of his day he played his part, serving in the Revolutionary Army, in the Constitutional Convention, in the North Carolina legislature, and finally in the United States Senate. From the latter he was expelled in 1797 for plotting with the British minister to drive the Spaniards out of the Southwest. On this account he became the subject of the first national impeachment trial which ended in dismissal of the case because "Senators are not impeachable civil officers" (p. 342). During the interval between his service in the North Carolina legislature and that in the United States Senate, Blount spent six hard years as Territorial Governor of the Southwest.

Mr. Masterson, associate professor of history in Rice Institute, has made an important contribution in this significant biography, both to the Southern Biography Series and to our knowledge of the American West. Someone may, with reason, challenge the author's attributing to Blount a "sense of civic responsibility" (p. 352). On the basis of ample evidence, however, Mr. Masterson has made abundantly clear the consistent drives of Blount's character: "place, power, and profit" (p. 179). The reader sees many shifts in Blount's immediate objectives, but, under the author's skillful delineation, they become tortuous windings to the same three goals, especially the last-mentioned. Throughout the course of his life Blount remained "a businessman in politics for business" (p. 349). Profitable speculation was his consuming passion. His fantastic engrossment of southwestern lands, by methods involving intricate credit deals and unscrupulous techniques, brought him, by the time of his sudden death at the age of fifty, to failure in both business and politics. A morally indignant writer might have called Blount a "robber baron." Mr. Masterson, on the basis of exhaustive research, has presented him as a frontier statesman of considerable charm, intelligence, energy, and gracious dignity whose vaulting ambition encompassed his ruin.

This work is both useful and informative. It concretizes in the person of William Blount the transition of eastern Tennessee from wilderness to civilization, the evolution of a cultured easterner into a western enthusiast, and the shift of the frontier community into the ranks of the Democratic-Republican Party. It also throws light on the Indian policy of the United

States government during the Washington administrations. Additional maps would have made the book even more useful.

SISTER JOAN DE LOURDES LEONARD

Saint Joseph's College for Women
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Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years and the War Years. By Carl Sandburg. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co. 1954. Pp. xiv, 762. $7.50.)

The appearance of Carl Sandburg's condensation of his panoramic six-volume biography of Abraham Lincoln is a noteworthy event in the field of Lincolnia. While retaining the essence of *The Prairie Years* and *The War Years,* he has drawn upon the findings resultant from the intensive research by Lincoln scholars during the past twenty-five years and from the opening of the Robert T. Lincoln Collection in 1947. In the case of both Ann Rutledge and Mary Todd Lincoln he accepts the re-evaluation toward which the late James G. Randall and his wife, Ruth Painter Randall, pioneered.

The account of the early prairie years has lost in the condensation none of the flavor and understanding which the author brought to the earlier work from his close association with the land of Lincoln and its people. The treatment of the Springfield years is somewhat less successful. For the evolution of the Illinois lawyer and politician, and the political complexities of the 1850's, Albert Beveridge's *Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1858,* remains in some respects the more illuminating source.

Similarly, the three volumes of *Lincoln the President* which Professor Randall was able to complete before his death may well be the definitive political history of the presidency up to 1863. However, for the war years Carl Sandburg has accomplished in his shorter biography what was the distinctive contribution of his longer work. Out of the combination of poetic insight into the character of Lincoln the man and the president with assiduous research in the record of his life and times there has emerged a portrait unique among the Lincoln biographies and, perhaps, in the whole field of American biographical literature. Lincoln facing secession, Lincoln and his generals, Lincoln and Congress, Lincoln and the people, the "Man in the White House," carrying the burdens of a nation at war, the president and his cabinet, the tortuous struggle with the slavery issue, the mystical dedication to the democratic union he sought to preserve for his generation and those to come. This is the picture which emerges from the wealth of personal detail set with the

perceptive skill of the artist against the broad background of the contemporary American scene.

The consistently high standard of accuracy, both factual and typographical, testifies to the author's historical and editorial competence. One error struck this reviewer. On page 314 there is mention of the Reverend William Ellery Channing as one of the two Unitarian clergymen who visited Lincoln in August, 1862. Dr. Channing died in 1842 so this was undoubtedly his nephew, William Henry, who was an ardent abolitionist.

Until recently, in spite of the productivity of Lincoln scholars, there was no satisfactory one-volume biography. It is fortunate, indeed, that within a short time of each other Benjamin Thomas and now Carl Sandburg have filled this need with such distinction.

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Lincoln and the Party Divided. By William Frank Zornow. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1954. Pp. xi, 264. $4.00.)

The varied phases of Lincoln's life continue to produce books in great numbers and the market, like the subject, seems to be without end. For the most part these works are subjected to a critical public which, in itself, speaks well for them. The professional and amateur historians who are absorbed in Lincoln studies probably exceed the number for any other character or period in American history. The answer to the question as to why this absorbing curiosity would be an interesting one to know.

Mr. Zornow's book covers the political developments prior to the nomination of Lincoln for a second term. Like the present occupant of the White House, Lincoln was stronger with the people than with the politicians. At times he seemed to have had only the people for support, for he lost confidence in himself and offered to step aside in favor of Horatio Seymour, a strange move, indeed, when one remembers that Seymour was a Democrat, hostile to the administration. The right-wing Republican of the present date had a counter-part in Sumner, Chandler, Wade, and Stevens, commonly known in Lincoln's day as the Unconditionals.

Chase, a member of Lincoln's cabinet, made a strong bid for the nomination in 1864, but Lincoln's friends, with some assistance from the president himself, were able to check the progress of his campaign. Lincoln may have been an idealist in some respects, but he was practical in his

politics when he offered the vice-presidency to Ben Butler, a War Democrat, whom he described as a man "as full of poison gas as a dead dog." Had Butler speculated on the possibility of a Booth, might his answer have been yes? The inability of the Unconditionals to agree on a winning candidate, the fortunes of war, and the failure of the Democrats to adopt a platform upon which their candidate could run cleared the way for Lincoln's second victory.

While Mr. Zornow's volume deals with a very limited phase of Lincoln's life, it is interesting and well done. Moreover, the numerous footnotes attest the author's research and the bibliography of twenty-four pages, listing sixteen articles by the author on the general subject, is a good indication of Mr. Zornow's background and preparation for this volume, a book which will be well received by all Lincoln students.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

The Committee on Program of the American Catholic Historical Association for 1955, of which Professor Donald R. Penn of Georgetown University is chairman, has completed all arrangements for the thirty-sixth annual meeting of the Association to be held at the Hotel Mayflower in Washington on December 28-30, 1955.

A conference that drew around 300 historians, scientists, and philosophers from sixteen nations closed in Mainz on March 20 with the conclusion that since Europe had thought itself into its present unhappy situation it should be able to think its way out with a new set of basic principles. The conference was under the auspices of the Institute for European History at Mainz which was founded by a combined group of German and French scholars shortly after World War II with a view to erasing the bias that had arisen from various nationalist interpretations of history. The institute has now set up work groups and a system of scholarships to aid in reworking historical materials from an all-European viewpoint.

Some thirty members of the American Historical Association interested in French history met at Cornell University on April 1-2 with Professor Edward W. Fox acting as host. Cornell, Pennsylvania, Syracuse, Florida, Toulouse, Yale, Tennessee, Colgate, and New York University were among the institutions sending delegates, while North Carolina State, Brooklyn, Mount Holyoke, Wellesley, Hunter, Washington State, and Cathedral College, New York, were represented. The sessions included a panel discussion on "Franco-American Relations in the Revolutionary Eras," led by Professors Gilbert Chinard and Jacques Godechot with Professors John J. Meng and Frances S. Childs commenting; a panel discussion on "French Imperialism since World War I," with Professor Vincent Confer reading the paper and MM. Vaurs and Lokke commenting; a panel on "French Labor Problems since World War II," by Mrs. Joan Jaughin and the Reverend Joseph N. Moody; and a dinner meeting at which M. Robert Valeur of the French Embassy gave the main address. Professor Lynn M. Case of the University of Pennsylvania accepted the chairmanship of the next meeting to be held in the spring of 1956. Those interested can secure information by addressing Professor Case.

The thirtieth annual meeting of the Mediaeval Academy of America was held at the University of North Carolina on April 29-30, 1955. Professor Albert C. Baugh of the University of Pennsylvania, vice-president

of the Academy, presided in the absence of President Austin P. Evans who was recuperating from an illness. The following officers were elected for three years: second vice-president, Albert Croll Baugh, professor of English in the University of Pennsylvania; third vice-president, David K. Bjork, professor of history in the University of California, Los Angeles; treasurer, John Nicholas Brown of Providence, Rhode Island; councillors, Phyllis W. G. Gordan (Mrs. John D. Gordan) of New York, Harry H. Hilberry, professor of art in Syracuse University, Theodor E. Mommsen, professor of mediaeval history in Cornell University, and John C. Pope, professor of English in Yale University. Three fellows were elected: Willi Apel, professor of music in Indiana University; Gaines Post, professor of mediaeval history in the University of Wisconsin; and Taylor Starck, professor of German in Harvard University, and four corresponding fellows: Sigurdur Nordal (Iceland), Albert Hugh Smith (Great Britain), Pietro Toesca (Italy), and Arthur D. Waley (Great Britain). The Haskins Medal was awarded to George H. Forsyth, Jr., professor of art in the University of Michigan, for his book, *The Church of St. Martin at Angers: The Architectural History of the Site from the Roman Empire to the French Revolution.*

The papers included several of interest to historians: "Executive Justice and the Rule of Law: Some Reflections on the Thirteenth Century," by Professor George L. Haskins of the University of Pennsylvania Law School; "Primitivism in Saxo Grammaticus," by Professor Kemp Malone of the Johns Hopkins University; "Some Methodological Problems Concerning the History of Canon Law," by Professor Stephan G. Kuttner of the Catholic University of America, and "A Mediaeval Commentary on the Rhetorica ad Herennium," by Professor Harry Caplan of Cornell University. At the subscription dinner for members and guests, held at the Carolina Inn, the speakers were the Provost of the University of North Carolina, Dr. James H. Purks, Jr., and Dean Barnaby C. Keeney of Brown University whose subject was "Some Observations on Mediaeval History and Historians."

The Department of History of Loyola University, Chicago, is sponsoring a co-operative appraisal of Arnold J. Toynbee's *A Study of History* on November 18-19, 1955. Among the scholars who will read papers at this symposium are Friedrich Engel-Janosi of the Catholic University of America who will speak on "Toynbee and the Tradition of Universal History," David M. Robinson of the University of Mississippi on "The Historical Validity of Toynbee's Approach to the Greco-Roman World," Eric Voegelin of Louisiana State University on "The Historical Validity of Toynbee's Approach to Universal States," Edward Rochie Hardy, Jr., of the Berkeley Divinity School on "The Historical Validity of

Toynbee's Approach to Universal Churches," William F. Albright of the Johns Hopkins University on "This Historical Validity of Toynbee's Approach to the Origin, Growth, Breakdown, and Disintegration of Civilizations," Hans Kohn of the College of the City of New York on "Toynbee's Approach to the History of Russia," William H. McNeill of the University of Chicago on "Some Basic Assumptions of Toynbee's *Study of History*," and Oscar Halecki of Fordham University on "The Validity of Toynbee's Conception of the Prospects of Western Civilization." Historians interested in further details on the symposium may address Professor Edward Gargan, Department of History, Loyola University, Chicago 26, Illinois. The symposium will be open to all interested persons and papers are scheduled for morning, afternoon, and evening sessions.

The publication in recent years of several biographies and monographs on phases of the Catholic history in the United States since the Civil War has increased the desire for a synthesis of the history of the Church to complete the four volumes of John Gilmary Shea. The late Peter Guilday did much to bring the researches of the Shea volumes up to date, and the need for revision before the Civil War is not so pressing. But for the period since 1865 a synthesis of Catholic historical scholarship is quite urgent. Possibly the answer to this problem lies in co-operative scholarship, of which there have been few attempts in Catholic circles since the publication of the *Catholic Encyclopedia*. The prospect of writing the history of the Church in the United States since 1865 should be a great inducement to the effort.

The March 17 issue of the *Catholic Light*, weekly newspaper of the Diocese of Scranton, carried a documented refutation of the claims made by Prime Bishop Leon Grochowski of the Polish National Church in a radio broadcast in Polish on February 20 to the effect that this schismatic group has had a history of nearly 1,000 years reaching back to the great Slavic missionaries, SS. Cyril and Methodius. The sources used by Bishop Grochowski were critically analyzed by Thomas J. Cawley, editor-in-chief of the *Catholic Light*, and shown to be either highly biased against the Catholic Church or improperly used by the radio speaker. The schismatic church owes its origin principally to Francis Hodur (1866-1953) who in 1897 as pastor of Holy Trinity Church, Nanticoke, Pennsylvania, accepted leadership of a group of dissident Polish Catholics in the Diocese of Scranton, united to them groups in Chicago, Buffalo, and other centers, and in September, 1907, was consecrated a bishop by Gerard Gul, Old Catholic Archbishop of Utrecht. The article of Monsignor Cawley sets the historical record straight and likewise provides a supple-

ment and corrective to the volume of Theodore Andrews, *The Polish National Catholic Church in America and Poland* (London, 1953).

The June issue of *American Heritage* contains thirteen articles with twenty-nine pictures in full color and fifty-five in black and white. The article that will chiefly interest readers of this REVIEW is Fairfax Downey's "Tragic Story of the San Patricio Battalion." These deserters from the American army during the Mexican War in 1846 were the cause of a good deal of propaganda among the Catholic-baiting nativists of the 1840's who, in consequence of the desertions, tried to stigmatize the American Catholics as disloyal to their country. But as the author says, "Though they carried a banner blazoned on one side with a figure of St. Patrick and on the other with a harp and the arms of Mexico, only a proportion was Irish or Roman Catholic. They were composed of half a dozen nationalities, besides native Americans, and came from every branch of the service: infantry, cavalry, and artillery" (p. 21). In "A Check List of New Books" (p. 95) one notes the volume on Joaquín Murieta, a famous California bandit of the 1850's, and *The Margaret Sanger Story* by Lawrence Lader, but no mention of Annabelle M. Melville's *John Carroll of Baltimore*, published by Charles Scribner's Sons early this year. This attractive popular magazine of history is sponsored by the American Association for State and Local History and the Society of American Historians and sells for $2.95 a copy or an annual subscription price of $12.00. The address is 551 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, New York.

A general index to the *Acta et Dicta* of the Catholic Historical Society of St. Paul has been compiled by James E. Quill and edited by Patrick H. Ahern of St. Paul Seminary. All students of American Catholic history will welcome this tool which covers the volumes of *Acta et Dicta* which appeared at irregular intervals between 1907 and 1936. The index runs to 129 pages and sells for $2.50. Interested parties may address Father Ahern at St. Paul Seminary, St. Paul 1, Minnesota.

Sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies and financed by grants from the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Rockefeller Foundation, the second supplement (Volume XXII) of the *Dictionary of American Biography* is now being prepared. Biographical sketches of persons deceased between 1936 and 1940 will be included. The editor of the volume is Robert Livingston Schuyler, professor emeritus of history at Columbia University.

In the *Proceedings* of the United States Naval Institute [LXXXI (April, 1955), 461-468], Dr. Louis Morton of the Pacific section of the United States Army's Office of Military History has reviewed the entire controversy in his "Pearl Harbor in Perspective, A Bibliographical Survey."

Supplement II of *Folia* for November, 1954, is given over to the contribution of H. Hohensee on "The Augustinian Concept of Authority." The price is $1.00 to subscribers and $2.00 to others. Interested parties may address Robert F. Moroney, 2180 Ryer Avenue, New York 57.

Studies in the Renaissance, the first volume in the series of Publications of the Renaissance Society of America, appeared in February. It is edited by William Peery and contains contributions, among others, by Ernest H. Wilkins, Lewis W. Spitz, and Felix Gilbert. The headquarters of the society are at 1161 Amsterdam Avenue, New York 26.

All students of the Renaissance will be interested to learn that Giuseppe Toffanin's *Storia dell'umanesimo* has been translated into English by Elio Gianturco and is published by Las Americas Publishing Company, 156 West 13th Street, New York 13.

A new historical journal covering Polish history, *Antemurale*, recently began publication under the auspices of the Institutum Historicum Polonicum Romae. It contains articles, communications, and book reviews. The scholarly standard of the first number is high and augurs well for the future. The contents are written in French or Italian.

The research materials of the late Herbert Eugene Bolton, consisting of over 146,000 pages of manuscripts gathered during his lengthy career in sixty or more archives and repositories in western Europe, Mexico, Canada, and the United States, have been acquired by the Bancroft Library of the University of California.

The historical collections of the Protestant Episcopal Church at the Philadelphia Divinity School, containing about 18,000 manuscripts and 20,000 books, are to be transferred to the Theological Seminary of the Southwest at Austin, Texas, upon the completion of a new library building at the latter school. The collections were brought together by the Church Historical Society, founded in Philadelphia in 1910 by a group of laymen and now numbering over 1,000 members. The documents date from the colonial period and contain all the official records of the general conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States since 1799.

During March and April, 1955, Professor Etienne Gilson of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies at Toronto gave a series of six lectures on Sunday afternoons at the National Gallery of Art in Washington on the subject of philosophy and painting.

Canon A. L. Gabriel, Director of the Mediaeval Institute at the University of Notre Dame, gave a lecture on "Academic Freedom of Masters and Students in the Mediaeval Universities" at Marygrove College, Detroit, on March 14, 1955.

At the twenty-fifth annual meeting of the South Carolina Historical Association held at Clemson College on April 16 Richard Walsh of Georgetown University read a paper on "The South Carolina Academy, 1800-1811." Dr. Walsh joined the Department of History at Georgetown in September, 1954.

Mason Wade, author of works on Francis Parkman, Margaret Fuller, and the new volume, *The French Canadians, 1760-1945* (Toronto, 1955), delivered the first of the annual Andrew Arnold Lambing Lectures of the Catholic Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania in Pittsburgh on April 21 on the subject "The French in Western Pennsylvania."

Marshall T. Smelser, associate professor of history in the University of Notre Dame, recently delivered a series of six lectures on "The Politics of Fear, 1789-1801," on the Charles R. Walgreen Foundation for the Study of American Institutions at the University of Chicago.

The 1954-1955 lecture series of the Mediaeval Institute of the University of Notre Dame heard Professor Gray C. Boyce, Chairman of the Department of History of Northwestern University, on the subject, "A Bibliographer Looks at the Middle Ages: A Report"; Dr. Ludwig Bieler of University College, Dublin, on "Mediaeval Pilgrimages to St. Patrick's Purgatory," and Gaines Post, professor of history in the University of Wisconsin, on "The Dignity of Man and Due Process of Law in the Legists and Canonists of the Thirteenth Century." The lecturers were introduced by the Reverend A. L. Gabriel, director, and the Reverend Joseph N. Garvin, C.S.C., assistant director.

Philip Hughes who has been visiting professor of history at the University of Notre Dame during the last semester, has been given a permanent appointment to the Notre Dame faculty with the rank of professor. Father Hughes will lecture on the Protestant Revolt and conduct a seminar on the historians of the religious revolt in England. On June 14 he was

given a degree of doctor of laws *honoris causa* by Manhattan College. Two other members of the Department of History at Notre Dame, M. A. Fitzsimons and William O. Shanahan, have been promoted to the rank of professor, and Bernard Norling has been advanced to assistant professor.

Joseph H. Brady, chairman of the Department of Social Sciences in Seton Hall University since 1937, has been named Rector of Immaculate Conception Seminary, Darlington, the major seminary of the Archdiocese of Newark. Monsignor Brady took his S.T.D. degree in Rome in 1930 and his Ph.D. at Columbia University in 1937, where he submitted for his dissertation a monograph called *Rome and the Neapolitan Revolution of 1820-1821. A Study in Papal Neutrality* (New York, 1937). His latest work is entitled *Confusion Twice Confounded. The First Amendment and the Supreme Court. An Historical Study* (South Orange, 1954).

Peter M. Dunne, S.J., of the University of San Francisco was elected vice-president of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association at its annual meeting in Los Angeles, December 28-30, 1954.

Joseph H. Dahmus, whose field is mediaeval history, has been promoted to the rank of full professor in Pennsylvania State University.

Russell E. Planck, assistant professor of history at Seton Hall University, has been named chairman of the committee on graduate studies of the Department of Social Studies. Other members of the committee include George L. A. Reilly, Daniel S. Buczek, and A. Paul Cocco.

M. A. Fitzsimons has been named editor of the *Review of Politics* to replace the late Waldemar Gurian. Associate editors are Frank O'Malley and John J. Kennedy, while the managing editor is Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., who has been acting editor since Professor Gurian's death.

Pierre Marot has been named director of the Ecole Nationale des Chartes as successor to Clovis Brunel. The new director is a professor of bibliography in the Ecole des Chartes. A memorial volume is being prepared for Professor Brunel, distinguished philologist, on the occasion of his retirement.

Georgetown University has announced the appointment of George C. A. Boehrer of Marquette University to teach Latin American history beginning this autumn. Mr. Charles H. Sullivan has returned to Georgetown's Department of History after several years with the Department of State.

Karl M. Schmitt of Niagara University has been given a research grant by the Doherty Foundation of New York to enable him to spend a year in Mexico studying the problem of Church-State relationships in that country during the nineteenth century.

The Committee on International Relations of the University of Notre Dame has received a grant of $100,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation toward the continuation during the next five years of its program of studies in international relations, with special emphasis on American foreign policy. Professor Stephen Kertesz has been named director of the committee to replace the late Waldemar Gurian and John J. Kennedy has been added to the committee to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Dr. Gurian.

Eugene P. Willging, director of libraries at the Catholic University of America, was invested on May 1 as a Knight of the Equestrian Order of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem in Holy Family Cathedral, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Among the Guggenheim Fellowships announced in late April two were won by members of the Department of History of the Catholic University of America. Friedrich Engel-Janosi, professor of modern European history, will pursue an investigation of the diplomatic relations between the Austrian Empire and the Holy See. Brian Tierney, assistant professor of history, will direct his research to the canonical legislation pertaining to the problem of charity and poor relief in the Middle Ages.

Thomas E. Downey, on leave of absence from the University of Notre Dame, has resigned from the Department of History and will continue his work in the United States Information Administration. Dr. Downey has been executive director of the Instituto Brasil-Estados Unidos in Rio de Janeiro since 1952.

Edmund Kearney of the Department of History of John Carroll University received his doctorate at Loyola University, Chicago, in June with a dissertation on "Philip II and the Castilian Cortes. A Study in Sixteenth-Century Absolutism."

Edward F. Crowley died on March 10 at the age of seventy-seven. Monsignor Crowley was professor of church history in St. John's Seminary, Brighton, from 1907 to 1918. At the time of his death he was pastor emeritus of Precious Blood Church, Hyde Park, Massachusetts, which he had served since his appointment there as pastor in April, 1930.

Pedro de Leturia, S.J., died on April 20 at the age of sixty-three. Spanish-born, Father de Leturia studied at Bonn and took his doctorate at the University of Munich in 1925. In 1932 he founded the Jesuit Historical Institute in Rome and in the same year inaugurated the School of Ecclesiastical History in the Gregorian University. Most of his scholarly publications dealt with the Spanish patronage in the Americas and with the independence movement in Latin America. Father de Leturia directed the dissertations of a large number of students at the Gregorian University during his more than twenty years there.

Clarence E. Martin died on April 24 at the age of seventy-five. Mr. Martin was a lawyer by profession, having been president of the American Bar Association in 1932. But he had a keen interest in history and in 1927 he was president of the American Catholic Historical Association, choosing as his presidential address at Washington in December of that year the subject, "The American Judiciary and Religious Liberty."

Philotheus Boehner, O.F.M., died on May 22 at the age of fifty-four. Father Philotheus took his doctorate at the University of Munich in 1933. In 1939 he came to St. Bonaventure University where he founded and directed the Franciscan Institute which has won increasingly high praise for its work in editing mediaeval philosophical texts.

Documents: A Spy's Report on the Expedition of Jean Ribaut to Florida, 1565. (Ed.) Antonine Tibesar (*The Americas,* Apr.)—Two Letters from the Newman Archives. Louis Allen (*Durham Univ. Jrn.,* Mar.)—Lettre de Mgr. Bourget à M. Blanchet, curé de Saint-Charles, 7 novembre 1837. Contexte historique. R. P. Leon Pouliot, S.J. (*Le bulletin des recherches historiques,* July 1954)—Jésuites et libertés gallicanes en 1611. Pierre Blet, S.J. (*Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu,* Jan.) Un ancien registre paroissial ontarien. G. F. G. Stanley (*Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française,* Dec.).—Some Spanish Documents Relating to Early French Expeditions to Canada. L. A. Vigneras (*Canadian Histor. Rev.,* Sept.).—François-Marie Halnat (1760-1808), Documents (2). Fernand Combaluzier, C. M. (*Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft,* Heft 4, 1954).—Documents pour une histoire de Séminaire de Québec (*suite.*) Honorius Provost (*La Revue de l'Université Laval,* Feb.).

BRIEF NOTICES

ROEDER, WILLIAM S. (Comp.) *Dictionary of European History.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1954. Pp. 316. $6.00.)

The compiler of this work intended to furnish a handy reference book of historical information for all those whose memories need assistance. In the introduction to the work, Harry Elmer Barnes argues that this includes all of us. To achieve his aim, Dr. Roeder has deliberately avoided, insofar as possible, all controversies and value judgments, limiting himself to spare, concise definitions. The result might be guessed—the most stimulating part of the book is the introduction in which Barnes preaches the social planners' gospel.

Checking and cross-checking the material presented by the compiler produced a rather high score on accuracy. However, his lean and concise account causes the reader on more than one occasion to remark, "Yes, but—." One such example concerns the reform bill of 1867 in Britain when the bald statement is allowed to stand: "This bill was sponsored by the Conservative party, under the leadership of Disraeli. . . ." Of course, questions of selection of material can always be raised, and we probably should allow an editor wide latitude for personal choice. Yet it does seem unusual that a book so tightly written should devote a long passage to the revolutions of 1848 without mentioning the Chartists.

The article on "Scholasticism" closes, "Scholasticism was created by Churchmen. It accomplished little or nothing for lay society." Laughter is the only proper reply to this.

Greater stress is placed on political history than on the other facets of history, although the data of social, economic, and cultural history are not neglected. (JOHN J. KAMERICK)

ROTH, FRANCIS, O.E.S.A. *Cardinal Richard Annibaldi, First Protector of the Augustinian Order, 1243-1276: A Study of the Order before and after its Great Union in 1256.* (Louvain: Nova et Vetera. 1954. Pp. 160.)

This study, which appeared in serial form in *Augustiniana,* Volumes II-IV (1952-1954), treats two major topics: the biography of Cardinal Annibaldi and the organization of the Augustinian hermits at the time of their great union. In a page-and-a-half of "Conclusions," the author attempts to tie these themes together. Cardinal Annibaldi appears in this account as a wealthy ecclesiastical politician, a leader of the Guelfs in Italy, and a dogged opponent of the Orsini faction in the Roman Curia. Although the personality of the cardinal remains somewhat enigmatic, his political career and his influence upon the Augustinian hermits are examined in detail. As the only modern

biography of one of the most important "founders" of the Austin friars, the interest and importance of this section of Father Roth's book are obvious.

The systematic survey (pp. 36-108) of the history of the various groups of Augustinian hermits at the time of the union is, for the ecclesiastical historian, perhaps the most rewarding and interesting part of this book. Father Roth describes the eremitical groups which existed in Italy in the middle of the thirteenth century and indicates how each group was affected by the union of 1256, which established the Austin friars as a religious order. The general course of this development has been surmised and outlined before; here, however, for the first time, the origins of the Austins are worked out in careful detail, in a history based upon a critical examination of the documentary evidence. In a series of appendices there are lists of some 214 houses of Augustinian hermits which claim to antedate 1256, and each entry is accompanied by a brief note concerning the relevant sources.

The merits of this study are great; its manifold virtues are, unfortunately, marred by some minor defects, notably the lack of an index and of a bibliography. The number and variety of typographical errors are both annoying and astonishing. (JAMES A. BRUNDAGE)

SAGGI, LUDOVICO, O. Carm. *La congregazione mantovana dei carmelitani sino alla morte del B. Battista Spagnoli (1516).* (Roma: Institutum Carmelitanum. 1954. Pp. lviii, 348.)

The almost general decline of discipline, as well in the Church at large as in many religious orders during the second half of the fourteenth century and throughout the entire period of the early Renaissance, had its counterpart in newly organized reform movements all tending to bring their communities back to the fervor of their founders through the strict and literal observance of their respective rules. Five such famous reforms arose in the Carmelite Order: (1) the reform begun in 1413 by the three convents of Le Selve in Florence, Gerona, and Mantua; (2) the reform of the Congregation of Albi, established in 1499, but suppressed by the Holy See in 1584; (3) the reform of the convent of Mount Olivet near Genoa, begun in 1515 and continuing well into the seventeenth century; (4) the reform of Rennes, inaugurated in 1604 by Philip Thibault (1572-1638); and finally (5) the important and well-known reform begun by St. Teresa of Avila and fostered by St. John of the Cross. Whereas the first four of these reforms gradually petered out or were eventually amalgamated again with the main body of the order, the reform of the Discalced Carmelites became fully autonomous in virtue of a papal bull dated December 20, 1593. It has remained such until the present day.

The book under discussion treats of the first of these Carmelite reforms, that of Mantua, up to the year 1516. It forms the first volume of the newly founded Carmelite Institute for the publication of historical texts and studies (Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana). Printed in very legible type, the book is divided into two parts, the first, roughly speaking, purely historical; the second, juridical. An appendix containing eleven documents brings the

work to a close. By 1516 the Mantuan reform comprised thirty-one convents for men, seven for women (pp. 153-225) and by 1602 it counted fifty-two houses. The most celebrated leader of this reform was Blessed Baptista Mantuanus (Spagnoli) who filled the office of vice general six times and finally became general of the whole order (1513-1516: beatified in 1885). The work is fully documented, has an excellent bibliography, and lists all obtainable archival matter. It is well indexed.

The author concludes his interesting study by giving four judgments of others concerning the Mantuan reform, some laudatory, some derogatory (pp. 273-274). His own opinion is that, while giving full credit to its influence in combatting the scandals of the Western Schism (1368-1417) and the evils of humanism through its preaching and literary apostolate, the reform, nevertheless, occasioned many useless and time-consuming controversies, and created a spirit of reciprocal diffidence between the order proper and the reform congregation. He blames neither the Mantuan congregation for its well-meant reform, on the one hand, nor, on the other, the hierarchy of the order which strove to retain its autonomy and to avoid divisions which could only redound to infractions of charity, scandals to the faithful, and the loss of precious energies that might well have been devoted to other purposes. The blame rests rather on the times in which these men lived; only the Council of Trent (1545-1563) was to effect a salutary influence both profound and universal. (RAPHAEL M. HUBER)

SEMMES, RAPHAEL. *Baltimore as Seen by Visitors: 1783-1860.* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society. 1953. Pp. xi, 208. $4.00.)

Dr. Semmes has compiled pen pictures of Baltimore's past in an interesting and informative volume. His book is not intended to be a history of the period, but rather a description of the city and its people between the end of the American Revolution and the beginning of the Civil War. The diaries, memoirs, and reminiscences of visitors to the city during the era have been gathered together to present a vivid portrait. This volume is the second in a series entitled Studies in Maryland History which has been undertaken by the Maryland Historical Society. Dr. Semmes, after more than a year of research, had brought this book almost to completion when death called him in the fall of 1952. Mrs. Marguerite Harrison Blake then acted as editor and prepared the manuscript for the press.

Descriptions of living conditions in Baltimore in the early 1800's are thorough. A traveller in those years found Baltimore less progressive than Philadelphia or New York, in that streets were not labelled with their names, but he was impressed with the rapid growth of the Maryland city. An interesting anecdote is related concerning a visit of President Thomas Jefferson to the city in 1810. The president planned to stop at the Fountain Inn. The proprietor, James Bryden, knew that Jefferson was coming, but unfortunately he did not recognize him on his arrival. The president's request for a single room was refused and he was informed that he must share a room with several

others. This displeased Jefferson who, without giving his name, departed and found lodgings at a tavern on Market Street.

Recent declarations by Marylanders that their state is a facsimile of the nation, as indicated by a proposal in the state legislature to make this claim prominent on the state's number plates, find their counterpart in the opinion of a British traveller, Henry B. Fearon, in 1818. After a tour of the United States, Fearon declared that in Baltimore the substantial features of the American nation and character were contained. Maryland roads in the nineteenth century were branded by many travellers as the worst in the United States. At times the stages between Baltimore and Philadelphia were unable to operate for a week or more.

The illustrations in the book, a dozen pictures of the city, supplement the written descriptions, and a bibliography and an index complete the work. Readers from other cities may well be inspired by a consideration of this volume to attempt similar descriptions of their locality. (EDWARD WHITLEY)

SHUSTER, GEORGE N. *Religion Behind The Iron Curtain.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1954. Pp. 281. $4.00.)

The author, president of Hunter College, former land commissioner for Bavaria and now chairman of the United States National Commission for UNESCO, has made a judicious selection from a mass of facts generated by the communist campaign to eradicate religion in the Soviet satellite countries and the Baltic States. He has so arranged them in a most readable narrative that one feels for the first time the full impact of their accumulated horror hitherto concealed, except for the much publicized cases of Stepinac and Mindzenty, in the back pages of our news journals. After neatly describing the historical setting of religion and politics in each country, Dr. Shuster delineates the pattern of anti-religion against a backdrop of confused and woefully ineffective opposition. The crowded churches behind the Iron Curtain are shown to be but a devilishly clever camouflage of an attempt to destroy religious education and to drive a wedge between the people and their spiritual leaders. Protestants, Catholics, and Jews alike are revealed as the target of this Soviet anti-God artillery. The heroic struggle of the Lutheran Church is treated in detail, and a chapter is given over to "Jewry under Soviet Rule."

In a work so complex, the errors are surprisingly few. There is no record of any bishops in Czechoslovakia having suffered the penalty of excommunication. The schismatics in Bulgaria were never members of the Royal Greek Church, nor was the Rumanian Church, just prior to the last war, under the jurisdiction of Constantinople. The footnote on page 148, explaining a special indult in regard to the sacrament of matrimony, is somewhat ambiguous. The index is inadequately brief.

In conclusion Dr. Shuster expresses the opinion that nothing short of war will change the present political and religious alignment. However, he holds out some hope for the subjugated peoples in the establishment internationally

of a code of minority rights which eventually even the Russians might come to respect. (EDWARD P. ATZERT)

The Silver is Mine. A Brief History of St. Joseph's Monastery of the Visitation in Wilmington, Delaware, Commemorating the First Centenary of Foundation from the Monastery of Montleul, France, 1853-1953. With a foreword by the Most Reverend Edmond J. FitzMaurice, Bishop of Wilmington. (Wilmington: Monastery of the Visitation. 1953. Pp. 117.)

This attractive volume records the history of the first and only Visitation foundation made from Europe in the United States. It had its beginning on the American frontier in the pioneer days of the Church when the Visitandines first settled in Keokuk, Iowa. Here, under Bishop Loras of Dubuque, the sisters opened an academy which was continued until the Civil War. They then moved to Suspension Bridge, New York. Another school was opened at this spot, but under such conditions that it was not successful. The See of Wilmington was erected in 1868, and, at the invitation of Bishop Thomas A. Becker, eleven professed sisters and two novices united to make a Visitation foundation in that city. After a brief stay at St. Mary's College, the sisters opened an academy which soon ranked with the best schools of the nineteenth century.

When Alfred A. Curtis succeeded Bishop Becker at Wilmington the sisters found another friend and benefactor. It was under Bishop Curtis that Sister Mary Joseph Abell entered the community, and by a bequest enabled the Visitandines to realize the primary end of their order, the contemplative life. In the period of transition that followed, Mother Marie Alexandrine united the efforts of all in transforming an active life to one of strict contemplation. A new monastery was built in 1893. Under Bishop John J. Monaghan the sisters observed their golden jubilee, and in these years they co-operated in the foundation of a community of Oblates of St. Francis de Sales and the Salesianum High School.

Bishop FitzMaurice has endeared himself by his kindness to the community. It was he who observed the diamond jubilee with the sisters in 1928, and the Diocese of Wilmington since the advent of Bishop FitzMaurice in 1925 has continued to share in the rich blessings gained by the prayers and sacrifices of the Visitation sisters of St. Joseph's Monastery. (THOMAS J. PETERMAN)

SIMPSON, LUCIE. *The Greek Spirit in Renaissance Art.* (New York: Philosophical Library Inc. 1953. Pp. 207. $4.75.)

The theme indicated in the title of this book has not been as neglected as the author imagines, but it is an important one and was well worth re-examination in a systematic fashion in the light of our present knowledge. The author has brought to her task an obvious enthusiasm for the Greek spirit as she understands it. However, she exhibits a conspicuous lack of understanding of Catholicism in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, and this deficiency is clearly responsible for an unusual display of prejudice and hostility in

dealing with the Catholic Church, its doctrines, and its attitude towards art and learning. A few concrete illustrations may be cited. The description of Boccaccio's visit to Monte Cassino furnishes occasion for a sarcastic and erroneous remark on the services of the mediaeval Benedictines to learning in general (p. 33). What the author means by "psalters" in her phrase "cutting off sheets to make psalters and charms" is not clear (l. c.). A passage condemning the "despotism" of the mediaeval Church ends with a reference to the "Benedictines erasing the masterpieces of classical literature to make way for their own litanies and lurries" (p. 40)—without acknowledgment to Milton for the last phrase. Another passage begins: "When one recalls the attitude of the monks to the beauty of a sunset, the splendor of mountain scenery or a summer landscape, occasions not for admiration, but for drawing the cowl lower over their eyes lest attention be distracted from thoughts of death and the hereafter. . . ." (pp. 53-54). Numerous other passages might be cited, but in the reviewer's opinion the book reaches its climax in the author's castigation of Macaulay for making the observation in his review of Ranke's *History of the Popes* that "Catholic communities have since that time [the Reformation] become infidel and Catholic again, but none has become Protestant." It is a pity that Miss Simpson has written a book rather in the tone of the Centuriators and Foxe than in the calm and temporate spirit of sound and objective scholarship. A rapid reading of E. De Bruyne, *Etudes d'esthétique médiévale* (Bruges, 1946), e.g., would have led her to revise drastically her notions on the mediaeval attitude toward art and beauty. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

SPINKA, MATTHEW (Ed.). *Advocates of Reform from Wyclif to Erasmus.* [The Library of Christian Classics. Vol. XIV.] (Philadelphia: Westminster Press. 1953. Pp. 399. $5.00.)

The editor of this book discerns three currents of reaction against the "mediaeval synthesis" of the thirteenth century—the critical nominalist philosophy of Ockham and his followers, the mystical movements of the Rhine Valley and the Netherlands, and the demands for radical reform, institutional and moral, in the conduct of church government. The present volume presents a series of translations from contemporary sources designed to illustrate this third type of activity. It takes as the leading protagonists Wyclif, Hus, and Erasmus; and also includes shorter extracts from several writers of the conciliar movement. The most valuable of the translations is Dr. Spinka's own rendering from the original Czech of John Hus' treatise *On Simony*. Ford Lewis Battles has struggled manfully, but not altogether successfully, to render "the repugnant Wyclif" into readable English. The task is impossible, one feels. The other translations seem careful and reasonably adequate, but, although the frequent omissions from the original texts are properly indicated, the practice of shortening involved mediaeval arguments for the sake of clarity and economy of space does inevitably introduce distortions.

It might be observed that the chronological sequence of the works presented hardly bears out the editor's confident assertion that "The continuity and interdependence of the entire reform movement from the breakdown of

Scholasticism to the Reformation of the sixteenth century is . . . obvious." Of the eight works translated, six date from the conciliar epoch, around the year 1400. The other two were written after 1500. There is nothing in between. The characteristics of the two sixteenth-century works that are included add point to the problem. John Major's *Disputation on the Authority of a Council* is a typical late mediaeval work in the tradition of the conciliarists; but Erasmus seems quite out of place amid the toil and dust of scholastic debate. In ecclesiology, as in so many other fields, there is need for much more detailed work before we can trace the channels of continuity between Middle Ages and Renaissance, and identify the really new springs of thought. The juristic works which kept alive in the schools some of the characteristic theses of the conciliar movement after the apparent triumph of the papacy have been especially neglected.

The introductory sections, contributed by the editor, are not deliberately polemical in tone, but Dr. Spinka certainly makes no attempt to conceal his own prejudices—and, naturally, they are different from those that a Catholic scholar would bring to the consideration of these topics. (BRIAN TIERNEY)

SYMONS, THOMAS (Ed.). *Regularis Concordia.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1953. Pp. lix, 77. $3.50.)

The consuetudinary or code of monastic law known to us as the *Regularis concordia* forms a land-mark in the history of England. Coming down to us from the Council of Winchester (c. 970), held during the prosperous reign of the energetic Edgar (959-975), this *Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation* marks the final settlement, as it were, of the Benedictine revival in which a spiritual movement found its highest expression. Composed by St. Ethelwold and inspired by St. Dunstan, the *Regularis concordia* "gives us the most complete and intimate account of the duties of the monastic life" of the consuetudinaries of the tenth and eleventh centuries (p. xxix). Dom Thomas Symons, a student of the *Regularis concordia* for over thirty years [cf. his article in the *Downside Review*, XL (January, 1922), 15-30], gives the result of his patient and fruitful research in this critical edition. In a lengthy introduction (pp. ix-lix) Dom Symons delineates the historical background, the principal features of the *Regularis concordia*, its sources and MSS. Then follows the Latin text (*verso*) and an English translation (*recto*) with critical apparatus and notes at the bottom of the page and two workable indices at the end (pp. 71-77). Students of monastic history will welcome this carefully edited text of so important a document. (ADRIAN FUERST)

THAMAN, SISTER MARY PATRICE, C.PP.S. *Manners and Morals of the 1920's: A Survey of the Religious Press.* (New York: Bookman Associates. 1954. Pp. 215. $3.75.)

Social history, as popularized by the late Frederick Lewis Allen in his *Only Yesterday, Since Yesterday,* and *The Big Change,* represents both a

sheer hankering for the past and a nostalgic longing for a time when our troubles were of a comfortable size. The 1920's, a gay, fast-living, pleasure-bent decade, evoke such nostalgic feelings. According to Dr. Thaman's account of it, a good many of the editors of contemporary Baptist, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Methodist, Episcopalian, Unitarian, Jewish, and Catholic journals felt it was a "Dismal Decade."

Utilizing the denominational approach spread across such periodicals as the *Watchman-Examiner, Presbyterian Banner, The Lutheran, Living Church, Commonweal, Christian Register, America,* and *American Hebrew,* she attempts to mirror what religious leaders thought of the manners and morals of the 1920's. The treatment is both episodic and panoramic; episodic in graphic delineations such as "The Dancing Daze," "Fashions and Fads," "Flagrant Failings," "Wanton Wickedness," and "Broken Bonds"; panoramic in the attempt to epitomize a mass reaction to sin, sex, and morality. The resulting effect is often too much reaction without interpretation, too much opinion without evaluation. There are also some serious omissions, such as the failure to mention the role of the avant-gardists who fled America to become "the Expatriates." Despite its inadequacies, Sister Mary Patrice has given us a book which cuts out an interesting slice of American social history. (Joseph F. Sinzer)

Thompson, Faith. *A Short History of Parliament, 1295-1642.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1953. Pp. x, 280. $4.50.)

As Professor Thompson explains in the preface, this is not a history of parliament in the usual sense, but a popularized treatment which might well recommend itself as collateral reading to college students in English history or literature. In order to enhance the appeal of the study, she has introduced numerous quotations from contemporary sources and has endeavored to bring this period back to life by dramatizing incidents and individuals who contributed to the growth of parliament. At the same time she has not forgotten the interest of the professional historian and has attempted to incorporate the scholarly research which has appeared in recent monographs and periodicals, particularly the role of "men of law" in the development of parliament. Professor Thompson has succeeded best in attaining her objectives in that part of the study which covers the mediaeval period.

Students will find her treatment of the origins of parliament, its powers, procedure, and privileges, the election of its members, and the description of actual sessions, both interesting and profitable. Yet a history written down to the level of the student should, above all else, be clear and systematic in its presentation. One has the suspicion that some readers will find it difficult to bridge the gaps between the different parliaments which the author has singled out for special emphasis. While no one can deny that the use of quotations from the sources, biographical sketches, and pertinent anecdotes

add zest to any study, these should only supplement, never obscure, the central historical theme. For all the stimulating episodes which the author describes, e.g., to brighten the controversy between the Stuarts and parliament, it will be easy for the student to lay the study aside without having concluded that the crux of that struggle lay in parliament's wish, on the one hand, to control the government without footing the bill and the king's refusal, on the other, to surrender rights which were his traditionally, even though he was finding the financial burden, his also traditionally, too heavy to bear. Finally, while Professor Thompson has established her reputation as a careful scholar, her treatment of the Statutes of Provisors and Praemunire suggests that she has not studied the work of Barraclough and Waugh. (JOSEPH H. DAHMUS)

WHITE, JAMES ADDISON. *Early Years of the Catholic Summer School of America. The Founding of Cliff Haven.* [Monograph Series, XXIV.] (New York: United States Catholic Historical Society. 1950. Pp. x, 105.)

In these days of ever-increasing leisure and ever-decreasing ability to use it well, it is refreshing to read the story of the early years of the Catholic Summer School of America at Cliff Haven. This recreational and educational movement undoubtedly owed much of its inspiration (though some of its prime movers disliked hearing the point overstressed) to the world-famous Chautauqua idea. For almost half a century the Catholic Summer School contributed significantly to the development of Catholic cultural life in the United States.

Mr. White sketches the formative years of this worthy institution. From 1892, the year of its first session at New London, Connecticut, to 1905, when the school acquired its permanent physical plant, the author describes its outstanding lecture program. It is gratifying to see delineated the outstanding co-operation between clergy and laity and the strong backing given its lay promoter, Warren E. Mosher, who did more than anyone else to bring it to being. The list of clerical and lay lecturers at the Summer School in these years furnished a veritable who's who of Catholics engaged in cultural pursuits at the turn of the century. The work would hold greater interest if the author had indicated more often their backgrounds and subsequent accomplishments. One instinctively rebels, e.g., at seeing the amazing Reverend Dr. Thomas E. Shields described merely as "a Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins" (p. 84).

Despite this understandable difficulty, the author has given us a capable and readable account of the school's formative years. It is a worthy addition to the monograph series of the United States Catholic Historical Society. Let us hope that soon we may have an equally valuable treatment of the subsequent years of this noble but ill-fated movement. (EDWARD M. CONNORS)

WILKINS, ERNEST HATCH. *A History of Italian Literature* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954. Pp. ix, 523. $7.50.)

Professor Wilkins, just prior to the publication of this book, wrote an article for the *Romanic Review* [XLV (February, 1954), 3-11] in which

he set forth the chronological scheme according to which he planned to reorganize Italian literary history. This schema provides for nineteen "moments" and reads like a geological time-table. A few examples may provide amusement, if not instruction: "Tansillian Period," "Tassian Period," "Laurentian Period," "Decadentistic Period" (1870-1915). On such a skeleton was modelled the flesh, designed, I am sure, to produce a living organism. While Professor Wilkins' *History of Italian Literature* is imposing (like the inhabitants of the geological periods suggested by his new classification) it is lifeless—(the analogy need not become tedious).

The work is learned and very informative, and actually the rather pretentious scheme of classification does not intrude as much as one might have expected. It is an honest work by a conscientious scholar. Mr. Wilkins has, however, succeeded in divorcing completely literature from literary history. We are warned from the introduction that this is a book for people with so little knowledge of literature that they will not be offended or irritated to be given the crumbs of good, bad, and many indifferent translations. The work remains, in view of its author's avowed intention, a mere handbook—and as a handbook, too bulky, by far.

One tends to be disappointed, therefore. Where a handbook would have sufficed, Professor Wilkins' energy went into the making of a book for the non-expert which is too replete for such a reader and almost useless to the student who can read Italian and will perforce consult the *Storia letteraria d'Italia*.

The most serious criticism to be brought against this book is that it fails to render serious judgment. It reads, therefore, like a professor's undergraduate notes. An older Harvard tradition is clearly represented when Professor Wilkins quotes Mr. Longfellow to substantiate the poetic greatness of Dante. This is simply bad taste. What shall we call the one line given to Montale and another casual mention of Moravia? I think it points to the fact that Professor Wilkins is really not interested in literature as a living institution, but as fossilization. (FREDERICK W. LOCKE)

WYNEN, ARTHUR. *Ludwig Kaas. Aus seinem Leben und Wirken.* (Trier: Paulinus-Verlag. 1953. Pp. 62.)

It is now nearly three years since the writer of this note, during a brief stay in Rome, received a call from Monsignor Kaas' secretary, who asked him whether he would care to join a small party which the monsignor planned to take through the new excavations under St. Peter's that afternoon. It was a memorable two hours' tour under the expert guidance of the man who, next to the reigning pontiff himself, was more responsible than anyone for the great archaeological investigation into the tomb of the Prince of the Apostles. Three days later, on my flight home, the first paper I bought in Boston brought the shocking notice of Kaas' death.

The slender volume by Monsignor Wynen, Auditor of the Rota, surveys the life, activities, and achievements of Ludwig Kaas (1881-1952) with the

loving care of a lifelong friend. The author realizes that it is too early to attempt a full biography; indeed, only on a broad background of contemporary history—both political and ecclesiastical—may such an attempt be made one day when all the evidence is available for publication. Ludwig Kaas was a man of many sides and many gifts; many friends and, presumably, many enemies. The canonist and historian of distinction, the expert in constitutional and international law felt the call to political activity when in 1918 the *Kaiserreich* collapsed, and he became one of those remarkable priest-statesmen who left their imprint in so many European countries on the Catholic political parties during the first third of this century. From the days of the national assembly which framed the Weimar Constitution in 1919, to the end of the German Republic in 1933, Monsignor Kaas was a leading figure in the Center Party and, from 1928, its chairman. During the same period, from 1925 on, he also was an honorary consultant of the first Apostolic Nunzio to Berlin, Archbishop Eugenio Pacelli. In those years the foundations were laid of a personal friendship which was to last for Kaas' life.

Opinion will probably always be sharply divided on the performance of the Center Party after the Nazi revolution in 1933. The vote for Hitler's *Ermächtigungsgesetz* in the spring of that year was, as it soon turned out, political suicide; at the same time it gave the new regime a false face of respectability which, together with the concordat of July 30, 1933, was unfortunately misinterpreted abroad in the sense that the Church had given its blessing to Nazi Germany. The vote led to an estrangement between Brüning and Kaas, and it is pathetic to read now that in his later years the memories of these critical decisions caused Kaas mental suffering (p. 33). Looking back, we can see much easier that his was the fundamental political mistake of a man steeped in law, who is prone to forget that for any totalitarian power a law and a treaty are but instruments of expediency callously to be discarded at will.

Looking back once more, we also have a glimpse, perhaps, of a design of Providence, which put an end to Kaas' political career and turned his Roman refuge into the scene of entirely new tasks and achievements. The figures of the German political stage in the 1920's and 1930's will be forgotten sooner or later. But the ingenious work done in St. Peter's under the administration of Ludwig Kaas will remain the most fitting monument to the memory of the priestly scholar and statesman who could truly say of himself: *Zelus domus tuae comedit me.* (STEPHAN KUTTNER)

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Sulla questione dei cosiddetti Martiri greci. Agostino Amore, O.F.M. (*ibid.*).

Mariens Jungfräulichkeit nach Lk 1, 34 in der Auseinandersetzung von heute. Bertram Brodmann, O.F.M. (*ibid.*).

Some Manuscripts of the Life of St. Bernard. John Morson, O.C.R. (*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library Manchester*, Mar.).

The Yangchow Latin Tombstone as a Landmark of Medieval Christianity in China. Francis A. Rouleau, S.J. (*Harvard Jrn. of Asiastic Studies*, Dec.).

Mohammed in Europe: A Note on Western Interpretations of the Life of the Prophet. J. J. Saunder (*History*, Feb., 1954).

Michael Servetus: A Cause Célèbre. H. J. McLachlan (*Hibbert Jrn.*, Oct., 1953).

Studies in Luther's Attitude towards Humanism. W. Schwarz (*Jrn. of Theolog. Studies*, Apr.).

Galileo Galilei in Recent Double Exposure. Joseph T. Clark, S.J. (*New Scholasticism*, July, 1954).

Lainez e l'indice del 1559. Lulto, Sabunde, Savonarola, Erasmo. Mario Scaduto, S.J. (*Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu*, Jan.).

Die nordischen päpstlichen Seminarien und Possevino (1577-1587). Lazzló Lucács, S.J. (*ibid.*).

Sir Robert Cecil, Father Persons and the Succession (1600-1601). Leo Hick, S.J. (*ibid.*).

Père Cossart, du Monstier, and Ramus' Protestantism. Walter J. Ong, S.J. (*ibid.*).

Descartes and Pascal: A Study of Likenesses. Robert J. Nelson (*PMLA*, June, 1954).

Zur Friedensaktion Benedikts XV. Ernst Deuerlein (*Stimmen der Zeit*, Jan.).

Katholizismus in Schleswig-Holstein. Gustav Hampel (*ibid.*).

Karl Barth. Thomas F. Torrance (*Expository Times*, Apr.).

The Communist Rebellions of 1926-1927 in Indonesia. Harry J. Benda (*Pacific Histor. Rev.*, May).

The United States, the Soviet Union, and the Far Eastern War, 1941-1945. Ernest R. May (*ibid.*).

EUROPEAN

France and Germany Agree—On the Past. James A. Corbett (*Histor. Bull.*, Mar.).

European Liberalism in the Nineteenth Century. David Harris (*Amer. Histor. Rev.*, Apr.).

Bismarck and German Nationalism. Otto Pflanze (*ibid.*).

The Political Rôle of Organized Labor in Western Europe. Joseph LaPalombara (*Jrn. of Politics*, Feb.).

Family Structure and Economic Change in Nineteenth-Century Europe. H. J. Habakkuk (*Jrn. of Economic Hist.*, No. 1, 1955).

The Radical French Critics, Guignebert and Loisy. H. G. Wood (*Hibbert Jrn.*, Apr.).

La question scolaire en Belgique. Robert Montceau (*Etudes*, Apr.).

Bizancio y España. Ramón Lull y la unión con los bizantinos. Sebastian Cirac Estopañan (*Cuadernos de historia*, 3, 1952).

Influencia de la Guerra de la Independencia en el pueblo español. Fernando Solano Costa (*ibid.*).

Amor y moralidad bajo los Reyes Católicos. J. de M. Carriazo (*Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos*, Jan., 1954).

El Seminario conciliar de San Jerónimo de Burgos. Demetrio Mansilla (*Hispania Sacra*, Fasc. 1, 1954).

La Biblioteca del obispo Juan Bernal Díaz de Luco. Tomás Marín (*ibid.*).

Catálogo de fuentes para la historia de los antiguos Colegios seculares de Salamanca. Luis Sala Balust (*ibid.*).

El concordato español visto desde fuera. Eduardo F. Regatillo (*Razón y Fe*, Apr.).

The Arts in Italy: the Burden of the Past. Joseph H. Summers (*Yale Rev.*, Spring, 1955).

An English Impression of the University of Göttingen in the Year 1823. D. F. S. Scott (*Durham Univ. Jrn.*, Mar.).

Goethe and His Russian Translator-Interpreter, V. A. Zhukovski. Andre von Gronika (*PMLA*, Mar.).

Le vestigia del culto Cirillo-Metodiano in Polonia. Karolina Lanckorónska (*Antemurale*, I).

Benoît, le Polonais, dit le Vratislavien, et son rôle dans l'union de la Ruthénie de Halicz avec Rome en 1246. Boleslaw Szczešniak (*ibid.*).

Commémoration de la fête célébrée à Wilno en 1604, à l'occasion de la canonisation de St. Casimir. Jonas Biguinas (*ibid.*).

ENGLISH AND IRISH

Some Notes on the History of the Book of Kells. Aubrey Gwynn, S.J. (*Irish Histor. Studies*, Sept.).

The Regulation of the Emigrant Traffic from the United Kingdom, 1842-55. Oliver MacDonach (*ibid.*).

Peasant Tithe-Collectors in Norman England. Reginald Lennard (*Eng. Histor. Rev.*, Oct.).

The Chamber Under Henry II. H. G. Richardson (*ibid.*).

English Monastic Life in the Later Middle Ages. David Knowles (*History*, Feb., 1954).

The Safeguarding of the Protestant Succession, 1702-18. M. A. Thomson (*ibid.*).

The Reformation in England. Joseph Gill, S.J. (*Unitas*, Spring, 1955).

Why Was Oliver Plunket Arrested? John Brady (*Irish Eccles. Rec.*, Jan.).

Oliver Cromwell and His Biographers. D. J. McDougall (*Histor. Bull.*, Mar.).

English Litanies of the Early Eighteenth Century. John Henning (*Clergy Rev.*, Apr.).

More About Cardinal Newman. Alexander Kerrigan, O.F.M (*Irish Eccles. Rec.*, June, 1954).

Official Opinion on Irish Emigration in the Later 19th Century. G. R. C. Keep (*ibid.*).

Cardinal Newman's Philosophy of Belief. James D. Bastable (*ibid.*, Apr., 1955).

Richard Hooker's Apology for Anglicanism. B. M. G. Reardon (*Hibbert Jrn.*, Apr.).

Archdeacon John McEncroe (1795-1868). V. Roger Wynne (*Australian Cath. Rec.*, Jan.).

European Minorities in Australia, 1840-1940. C. A. Price (*Histor. Studies*, Nov.).

The Present State of History Teaching and Research in Australian Universities: an Estimate. Gordon Greenwood (*ibid.*).

AMERICAN

Writings in United States Church History, 1954. E. R. Vollmar (*Histor. Bull.*, May, 1954).

Thirty Years of the New History: A Study of *The North Carolina Historical Review*, 1924-1953. Paul Murray (*N. C. Histor. Rev.*, Apr.).

The Jewish People of North Carolina. Harry L. Golden (*ibid.*).

Recent Trends in the Writing of Southern History. Clement Eaton (*La. Histor. Quart.*, Apr.).

Demands of the New Orleans Free Colored Population for Political Equality, 1862-1865. Donald E. Everett (*ibid.*).

A Brief History of Celtic Studies in North America. Roland Blenner-Hasset (*PMLA*, Sept., Part 2).

The Distinguished Negro in America, 1770-1936. Richard Bardolph (*Amer. Histor. Rev.*, Apr.).

Brownson's Quest for Social Justice. Edward Day, C.SS.R. (*Amer. Eccles. Rev.*, Aug., 1954).

Orestes A. Brownson on Catholic Schools. Edward J. Power (*Homiletic and Pastoral Rev.*, Apr.).

The State and Catholic Power in the United States. Paul Blanshard (*Hibbert Jrn.*, Apr.).

Francesco Maria Piccolo (1654-1729), Pioneer of Lower California, in the Light of Roman Archives. E. J. Burrus, S.J. (*Hispanic American Histor. Rev.*, Feb.).

Spanish Records in the Philippine National Archives. Edgar B. Wickberg (*ibid.*).

William Bretton on Newtown Neck, St. Mary's County. Edwin W. Bietzell (*Md. Histor. Mag.*, Mar.).

Tomé and Father J. B. R. Florence Hawley Ellis (*N. Mex. Histor. Rev.*, Apr.).

The Beginnings of the Episcopal Church in Missouri. Charles F. Rehkopf (*Histor. Mag. of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, Mar.).

Presbyterian Church Influence in Lower Mississippi Valley. Walter B. Posey (*Jrn. of the Presbyterian Histor. Soc.*, Mar.).

Frontenac and the Iroquois, 1672-1682. W. J. Eccles (*Canadian Histor. Rev.*, Mar.).

Arthur Meighen and the Conservative Party in Quebec: The Election of 1925. W. R. Graham (*ibid.*).

Some Recent Books on English History: The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. J. B. Conacher (*ibid.*).

Fastes et néfastes de 1755. Abbé Honorius Provost (*Le bulletin des recherches historiques*, Jan.).

La répression satanique en La Nouvelle-France. Fernand Lefebvre (*ibid.*).

Les "D. P." du XVIII[e] siècle. Mary Jean Mark (*La revue de l'Université Laval*, May).

Le portrait de Mgr. Lartigue. R. P. Leon Pouliot, S.J. (*Bulletin des recherches historiques*, July, 1954).

Une date importante pour l'Eglise canadienne: le 2 décembre 1841. Gaston Carrière, O.M.I. (*Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa*, Jan.).

Entretien national sur l'humanisme. Maurice Lebel (*Culture*, Mar.).

Les écoles indépendantes dans le Bas-Canada, 1800-1825. (Suite et fin.) Louis-Philippe Audet (*ibid.*).

Quelques aspects méthodologiques de l'enseignement de la géographie dans le Québec. Louis-Edmond Hamelin (*ibid.*).

La révolution aux Antilles—Marins et Colons—Marchands et petits blancs (août 1790-août 1792). L. Dermigny et G. Debien (*Revue d'histoire de l'Amerique Française*, Mar.).

Une mission tragique aux Illinois—Chiniquy et les Oblats. G. Carriére, O.F.M. (*ibid.*).

Saint Antoine Daniel, martyr canadien. Fernand Potvin, S.J. (*ibid.*).

America and the Challenge of the Times. Alceu Amoroso Lima (*The Americas*, Apr.).

Language as a Key to Latin American Historiography. Richard M. Morse (*ibid.*).

Fray Pedro de Aguado, the Forgotten Chronicler of Colombia and Venezuela. Orlando Fals-Borda (*ibid.*).

Expansión de las Clarisas en América. Fidel de Lejarza, O.F.M. (*Archivo Ibero-Americano*, Oct.).

Las bibliotecas en la provincia de Santiago. Manuel R. Pazos, O.F.M. (*ibid.*).

El jusnaturalismo tomista de Fray Francisco de Vitoria como fuente del plan de confederación hispanoamericana del Dr. José Gaspar de Francia. Victor Frankl (*Revista de Historia de América*, Jan., 1954).

Causas del problema educativo en Colombia. Emilio Arango (*Revista Janieriana*, Feb.).

Introducción a la bibliografía peruana. Alberto Tauro (*Fenix*, No. 8).

Adiciones inéditas a "La Imprenta en Lima." José Toribio Medina (*ibid.*).

Adiciones a "La Imprenta en Lima." Graciela Araujo Espinoza (*ibid.*).

Mitre's San Martín. Otto S. Marx (*Histor. Bull.*, Mar.).

La obra franciscana en el Paraguay y Rio de la Plata. Raúl A. Molina (*Missionalia Hispanica*, No. 33, 1954).

La anulación del Tratado de Límites con Portugal de 1750 y las Misiones del Paraguay. Francisco Mateos, S.J. (*ibid.*).

Mártires franciscanos de Georgia. Ignacio Omaechevarría, O.F.M. (*ibid.*, No. 34).

Origen y evolución de la idea jesuítica de "Reducciones" en las Misiones del Virreinato del Perú. Alfonso Echánove, S.J. (*ibid.*).

BOOKS RECEIVED

American Heritage, Vol. VI, April, 1955, No. 3. (New York: American Heritage Publishing Co. Pp. 112. $2.95 single copy, $12.00 annual subscription.) From its self-conscious post-war beginnings as a journal largely devoted to the techniques of classroom utilization of local history, this magazine has developed into a profusely illustrated publication unconcerned with methodology but containing sketches of Americana well able to stand on their own merits. This issue, continuing the format adopted in 1950, is the third to appear between hard Duroid covers under the editorship of Bruce Catton, and among its thirteen articles is the first publication of a portion of the memoirs of Frederick T. Gates, philanthropic adviser to John D. Rockefeller.

Anson, Peter F. *The Call of the Cloister. Religious Communities and Kindred Bodies in the Anglican Communion.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1955. Pp. xvi, 641. $8.50.)

Atamian, Sarkis. *The Armenian Community. The Historical Development of a Social and Ideological Conflict.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1955. Pp. 479. $4.75.) The author is a former member of the Department of Sociology of the University of Rhode Island.

Baldwin, Marshall W. (Ed.) *A History of the Crusades.* Vol. I. *The First Hundred Years.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1955. Pp. xxvi, 694. $12.00.)

Barker, Charles Albro. *Henry George.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. xvii, 696. $9.50.)

Barlow, Frank. *The Feudal Kingdom of England, 1042-1216.* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1955. Pp. xi, 465. $5.00.)

Baynes, Norman H. *Byzantine Studies and Other Essays.* (New York: John de Graff, Inc. Pp. xi, 392. $7.00.)

Becker, Alfons. *Studien züm Investiturproblem in Frankreich. Papsttum, Königtum und Episkopat im Zeitalter der gregorianischen Kirchenreform (1049-1119).* Inaugural-Dissertation zür Erlangung der Doktorwürde der Hohen Philosophischen Facultät der Universität des Saarlandes. (Saarbrücken: West-Ost Verlag. 1955. Pp. 262. Ffrs: 1.150,—.)

Bemis, Samuel Flagg. *A Diplomatic History of the United States.* 4th ed. (New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1955. Pp. vi, 1018. $7.50.)

———. *The United States as a World Power. A Diplomatic History (1900-1955).* Revised Edition. (New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1955. Pp. xi, 516. $5.25.) In both the fourth edition of his text, which has almost become the standard interpretation of American diplomatic history, and in the convenient separate volume on the twentieth century, Professor Bemis has incorporated the latest findings of scholarship and brought the chronology up to the point of including the Korean War and the new security treaties.

Bernardo, C. J., and Eugene H. Bacon. *American Military Policy. Its Development Since 1775.* (Harrisburg: Military Service Publishing Co. 1955. Pp. 512. $5.00.) The authors of this volume received their graduate training at Georgetown University where Mr. Bacon is at present teaching. Mr. Bernardo has been since 1949 a lecturer on American military policy at the University of Maryland.

Bishop, Jim. *The Day Lincoln Was Shot.* (New York: Harper & Bros. 1955. Pp. vii, 308. $3.75.)

Blied, Benjamin J. *Three Archbishops of Milwaukee.* (Milwaukee: The Author. 1955. Pp. 160. $4.00.)

Bolton, Theodore and Irwin F. Cortelyou. *Ezra Ames of Albany. Portrait Painter, Craftsman, Royal Arch Mason, Banker. 1768-1836.* (New York: The New York Histor. Soc. 1955. Pp. xix, 398. $4.95.)

Bowe, Gabriel, O.P. *The Origin of Political Authority. An Essay in Catholic Political Philosophy.* (Dublin: Clonmore & Reynolds, Ltd. 1955. Pp. 102. 12/6.) Father Bowe is now teaching economics in University College, Dublin, after finishing his work for the lector and licentiate degrees at the Angelicum. In nine brief chapters he discusses the subject of political authority from the New Testament on through the leading theologians of the Middle Ages and modern times.

Brace, Richard M. *The Making of the Modern World from the Renaissance to the Present.* (New York: Rinehart & Co., Inc. 1955. Pp. xxvi, 899. $6.50.)

Burnaby, John (Trans. and Ed.). The Library of Christian Classics. Vol. VIII. *Augustine: Later Works. Selected and Translated with Introductions.* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press. 1955. Pp. 359. $5.00.)

Calvetti, Carla. *La filosofia di Giovanni Calvino.* Vol. VIII, Nuova serie, Saggi e ricerche. (Milano: Vita e pensiero. 1954. Pp. xiv, 280. 1500 Lire.)

Calvocoressi, Peter. *Survey of International Affairs, 1952.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. viii, 473. $7.20.) This fourth volume of the Chatam House post-war series, issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, appears simultaneously with the companion volume, *Documents on International Affairs, 1952.*

Cartwright, John K., photographs by Alfred Wagg. *The Catholic Shrines of Europe.* (New York, Toronto, London: McGraw-Hill Book Co. 1955. Pp. 212. $6.00.)

Catta, Etienne. *La vie d'un monastère sous l'ancien régime. La Visitation Sainte-Marie de Nantes (1630-1792).* [Etudes de théologie et d'histoire de la Spiritualité. Vol. XIII.] (Paris: Librairie philosophique J. Vrin. 1954. Pp. 574.)

Collections of the Brome County Historical Society. (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada. 1954. Pp. 99. $1.00.)

Cooper, Gordon. *Forbidden Lands.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1955 Pp. 164. $4.75.)

Coper, Rudolf. *Failure of a Revolution. Germany in 1918-1919.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1955. Pp. xi, 294. $5.00.) This monograph covers the events during the critical period from November, 1918, to March, 1919, when the socialist republic came in for its brief life. The Berlin-born author is professor of economics in Loyola University, New Orleans.

Coutinho, Lucia da Viega. *Tradition et histoire dans la controverse moderniste (1898-1910).* [Vol. LXXIII Series Facultatis Theologicae, Sectio B (n. 26). Analecta Gregoriana, Cura Pontificiae Universitatis Gregorianae edita.] (Rome: Universitatis Gregorianae. 1954. Pp. xxiii, 275.)

Craven, W. F., and J. L. Cate (Eds.). *The Army Air Forces in World War II.* Vol. VI. *Men and Planes.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1955. Pp. lii, 807. $8.50.)

Cronan, Edward P. *The Dignity of the Human Person.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1955. Pp. xvi, 207. $3.00.) Father Cronan, until recently a chaplain at the United States Navy Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, wrote this work for his Ph.D. degree. He was formerly professor of philosophy in St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore.

Dahmus, Joseph H. *The Prosecution of John Wyclyf.* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1952. Pp. xi, 167. $4.00.)

Davis, Richard Beale. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge.* New Series—Vol. 45, Part 2, 1955. *The Abbé Correa in America, 1812-1820. The Contributions of the Diplomat and Natural Philosopher to the Foundations of our National Life.* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society. 1955. Pp. 87-197. $2.00.)

Davis, Thomas B., Jr. *Carlos de Alvear. Man of Revolution. The Diplomatic Career of Argentina's First Minister to the United States.* (Durham: Duke University Press. 1955. Pp. vii, 305. $5.75.)

De Jaegher, Paul, S.J. *The Virtue of Love.* (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1955. Pp. xl, 176. $3.00.)

de Raeymaeker, Louis *et al. Truth and Freedom.* [Duquesne Studies. Philosophical Series, 5.] (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University. 1954. Pp. vii, 133. Cloth $3.00, paper $2.25.) This volume contains seven essays by professors of the Catholic University of Louvain, dedicated to Columbia University on the occasion of the latter's bicentennial last year. Bishop Honoré Van Waeyenbergh, Rector of Louvain, writes a brief introduction. The work was translated by Henry J. Koren, C.S.Sp., of Duquesne University. The essay that will interest most readers of the REVIEW is that entitled "The Freedom of the Catholic Historian" by l'Abbé Roger Aubert, professor of history in the Catholic University of Louvain. The whole volume emphasizes the subject of freedom in relation to various branches of learning.

de Santillana, Giorgio. *The Crime of Galileo.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1955. Pp. xv, 338. $5.75.)

Dolan, Mary. *Hannibal of Carthage.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1955. Pp. ix, 308. $3.75.) A novel by a graduate of St.-Mary-of-the-Woods College.

Dunne, Finley Peter. *Mr. Dooley; Now and Forever.* (Stanford: Academic Reprints. 1954. Pp. xv, 299. $3.75.)

Easton, Stewart C. *The Heritage of the Past from the Earliest Times to the Close of the Middle Ages.* (New York: Rinehart & Co. 1955. Pp. xx, 795. $6.00.) This is a well arranged and illustrated textbook, intended as an answer to the problems inherent in presenting a survey course in world history. Its end papers, maps, and beautifully reproduced pictures alone would recommend its careful perusal. Its approach to many controversial matters seems quite fair, and its suggestions for additional reading and for assignments are both imaginative and challenging.

Elliot, Robert Neal, Jr. *The Raleigh Register, 1799-1863.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1955. Pp. vii, 133.) This is Volume 36 in the James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science published under the direction of the Departments of History and Political Science of the University of North Carolina. The monograph was a doctoral dissertation.

Engel-Janosi, Friedrich. *Four Studies in French Romantic Historical Writing.* [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Under the Direction of the Departments of History, Political Economy, and Political Science. Series LXXI (1953) number 2.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1955. Pp. 158. xii.)

Esslinger, William. *Politics and Science.* With a foreword by Albert Einstein. (New York: Philosophical Library. 1955. Pp. xi, 167. $3.00.)

Farmer, Paul. *Vichy—Political Dilemma.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1955. Pp. vi, 376. $5.50.)

Federal Population Censuses, 1840-80. A Price List of Microfilm Copies of the Original Schedules. (Washington: General Services Administration. 1955. Pp. iii, 73.)

Fisher, Lilliam Estelle. *Champion of Reform Manuel Abad y Queipo.* (New York: Library Publishers. 1955. Pp. xi, 314. $6.00.)

Friedlaender, Walter. *Caravaggio Studies.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1955. Pp. xxviii, 320, 66 plates. $25.00.)

Garcia, Vicente Blanco. *San Ildefonso. Tratado de la perpetua virginidad de Santa Maria.* (Zaragoza: Institucion "Fernando el Catolico." 1954. Pp. 175.)

Gargan, Edward. *Alexis de Tocqueville: The Critical Years, 1848-1851.* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1955. Pp. xii, 234. $3.50.)

Gilby, Thomas, O.P. (Ed. and Trans.). *St. Thomas Aquinas. Theological Texts.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. xviii, 423. $3.50.)

Greene, Gwendolen (Ed.). *Letters from Baron Friedrich von Hügel to a Niece.* Preface by John B. Sheerin, C.S.P. (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. 1955. Pp. 274. $3.75.) The editor of this series of intimate letters on the spiritual life is herself the niece to whom von Hügel addressed them with a view to proving to Miss Greene the need she had for faith in Christ and the Church. They ran from April 25, 1918, to September 14, 1924.

Groseclose, Elgin. *The Carmelite.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1955. Pp. xii, 289. $3.75.) The scene of this historical novel is sixteenth-century Persia where a Carmelite mission to the court of Shah Abbas the Great meets with a struggle for survival in a land of mingled barbarism and sophistication.

Haller, William. *Liberty and Reformation in the Puritan Revolution.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1955. Pp. xv, 410. $6.00.)

Hare, Ronald. *Pomp and Pestilence. Infectious Disease: Its Origins and Conquest.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1955. Pp. 224. $5.75.) Dr. Hare is professor of bacteriology in the University of London at St. Thomas Hospital Medical School.

Hecht, Arthur (Comp.). *Records of the Bureau of the Second Assistant Postmaster General 1814-1946.* Number 82. Preliminary Inventories. (Washington: National Archives. 1955. Pp. v, 40.)

Herring, Hubert. *A History of Latin America from the Beginnings to the Present.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1955. Pp. xx, 796. $6.50.) The author has drawn on his long experience in Latin American affairs to write a readable textbook. A reading list is furnished for each of the eleven parts into which the narrative has been divided. Thirty maps enrich the text.

Hesse, Mary B. *Science and the Human Imagination. Aspects of the History and Logic of Physical Science.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1955. Pp. 171. $3.75.) Miss Hesse is lecturer in mathematics in the University of Leeds.

Holbrook, Stewart H. *James J. Hill. A Great Life in Brief.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1955. Pp. 205, vii. $2.50.)

Jackson, Frederick H. *Simeon Eben Baldwin. Lawyer, Social Scientist, Statesman.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1955. Pp. xiv, 291. $5.00.)

The John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island. Report to the Corporation of Brown University. July 1, 1954. (Portland: Anthoensen Press. 1954. Pp. 75.)

Katz, Solomon. *The Decline of Rome and the Rise of Mediaeval Europe.* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1955. Pp. ix, 164. $1.25.)

Keen, Benjamin. *Readings in Latin-American Civilization 1492 to the Present.* (Boston: Hougton Mifflin Co. 1955. Pp. ix, 477. $3.60.)

Kelly, George A. *The Story of St. Monica's Parish.* (New York: Monica Press. 1954. Pp. ix, 154.)

Kelly, J. N. D. (Trans.). *Rufinus. A Commentary on the Apostles' Creed.* (Westminster: Newman Press. 1955. Pp. 166. $2.75.) This is No. 20

in the series Ancient Christian Writers. The translator is principal of St. Edmund Hall at Oxford.

Kenton, Edna (Ed.). *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents.* Introduction by Reuben Gold Thwaits; preface by George N. Shuster. (New York: Vanguard Press. 1954. Pp. liv, 577. $6.00.) Students who knew this very handy and useful collection of documents from its 1925 edition published by Albert and Charles Boni, Inc., will welcome the new imprint from the Vanguard Press. The documents were originally selected and edited by Miss Kenton from the famous seventy-three volume work of Reuben Thwaites. They cover in time the years 1610-1791. The president of Hunter College has contributed a preface to the present reprint.

King, Archdale. *Citeaux and Her Elder Daughters.* (London: Burns & Oates. 1954. Pp. xii, 411. 30s.)

Kisch, Guido. *Forschungen zür Rechts- und Sozialgeschichte der Juden in Deutschland während des Mittelalters.* (Stuttgart-O: W. Kohlhammer Verlag. 1955. Pp. 312. DM 29-.)

Kukiel, M. *Czartoryski and European Unity, 1770-1861.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1955. Pp. xvii, 354. $6.00.)

Lamb, George (Trans.). *Tolerance and the Catholic. A Symposium.* (New York: Sheed & Ward. 1955. Pp. vii, 199. $3.50.) A group of eight papers read by French and Belgian theologians at a meeting at La Sarte in Huy in October, 1951. The first four deal with the past; the second four with the present-day world.

Lamont, Corliss. *Soviet Civilization.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1955. Pp. xxx, 447. $5.00.)

Leclercq, Jean. *Etudes sur Saint Bernard et le texte de ses écrits.* [Analecta sacri ordinis cisterciensis. Periodicum trimestre. Curiae generalis sacri ordinis cisterciensis. Annus IX. 1953. Fasc. 1/2, Jan.-Jun.] (Rome: Apud Curiam generalem Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis. Pp. 247.)

Lewis, C. S. *De descriptione temporum. An Inaugural Lecture.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1955. Pp. 23. $.50.) A newly established chair of mediaeval and Renaissance English literature is itself an obituary notice on the Burckhardtian theory of the Renaissance. Professor Lewis' fine inaugural lecture proposes that the differences between mediaeval and Renaissance culture are relatively small when compared with the tremendous cleavage between our own era and the whole previous history of western man.

Link, Arthur S. *American Epoch: A History of the United States since the 1890's.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1955. Pp. xxii, 724, xxxvii.) A new survey of recent American history by the leading authority on Woodrow Wilson. Link discovers the fulfillment of the American progressive movement in the achievements of the Roosevelt New Deal.

Lopez, Robert S. and Irving W. Raymond. *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World.* Illustrative Documents Translated with Introductions and Notes. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1955. Pp. 458. $6.75.)

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